NATIONAL REVIEW

40 Cents

February 27, 1960

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

The Arms Debate: A Primer

A STAFF REPORT

The Spacious Ideas of Mr. Commager

W. F. RICKENBACKER

But Is Ayn Rand Conservative?

GARRY WILLS

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . THOMAS MOLNAR

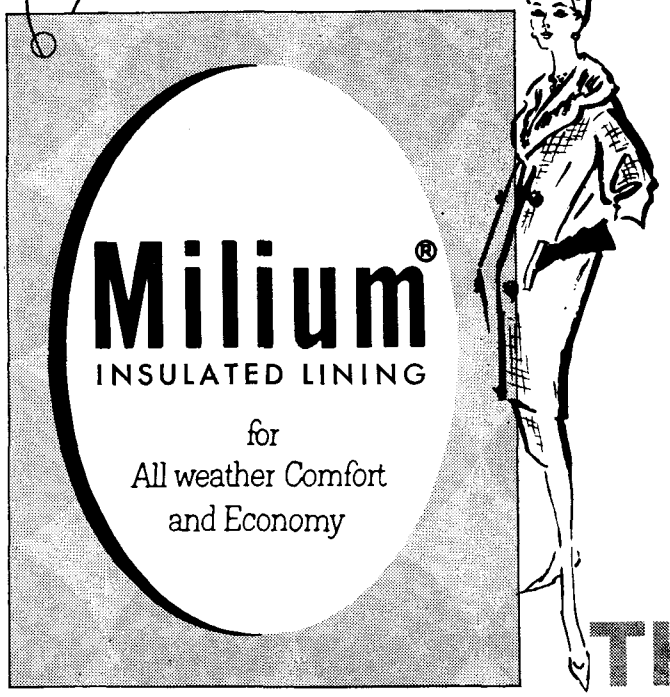
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN · J. B. MATTHEWS · WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

FRANK S. MEYER · FRANCIS RUSSELL · WILLIAM A. RUSHER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEXTILE RESEARCH PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMY

THIS IS THE HANGTAG



THAT GIVES YOU

MORE FASHION

more graceful silhouettes, flattering drape

MORE COMFORT

light-weight, bulk-free warmth-as-needed

MORE ECONOMY

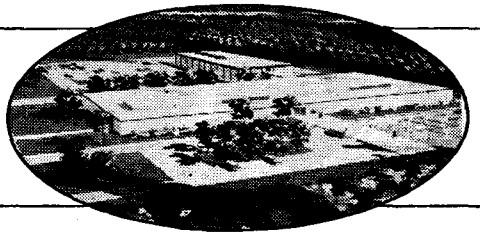
year 'round wearability for every occasion

Make MILIUM your "Buy Word"

and join the millions of style-conscious men and women from coast to coast . . . from every walk of life . . . who know, wear, demand the most comfortable lining in the world.

MILIUM DIVISION, 1045 SIXTH AVE., N.Y. 18, N.Y.

®Milium is the registered trademark of Deering, Milliken & Co., Inc. for metal-insulated fabrics.



Deering Milliken Research Corp., Spartanburg, S. C.

America's largest, most modern research facilities devoted exclusively to textile research.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
L. Brent Bozell James Burnham
John Chamberlain Willmoore Kendall
Frank S. Meyer

MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES
Frank Chodorov, Jonathan Mitchell, Morrie Ryskind
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: John Leonard

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, John Abbott Clark, Peter Crumpet, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Medford Evans, Finis Farr, J. D. Futch, Aloise B. Heath, Karl Hess, Hugh Kenner, John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, Maureen B. O'Reilly, E. Merrill Root, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Charles J. McHugh

CONTENTS FEBRUARY 27, 1960 VOL. VIII, NO. 9

THE WEEK 124
The Arms Debate: A Primer 130

ARTICLES
The Spacious Ideas of Mr. Commager
H. F. Rickenbacker 133
Who Are the Algerians? .....Thomas Molnar 137
But Is Ayn Rand Conservative? .....Garry Wills 139

DEPARTMENTS
For the Record 123
Principles and Heresies .....Frank S. Meyer 136
The Ivory Tower .....Wm. F. Buckley Jr. 140
From the Academy .....Russell Kirk 141
To the Editor 148

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS
What Conservatives? .....John Chamberlain 142
The Fund Misinforms the Republic ...J. B. Matthews 143
The Sorcerer's Apprentices
Frederick D. Wilhelmsen 144
Restless Quest for Knowledge ....William A. Rusher 145
The Kennedys .....Francis Russell 146

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Weekly, Inc. at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. (second class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.). Copyright 1960 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 32-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

For the Record

Secretary of State Herter and Charles Bohlen met secretly with Ike twice to try to sell their Formosa solution: get Chiang to step down, make Formosa UN protectorate, admit Red China to UN on "hands-off" promise. . . . Milton Eisenhower urging his brother to junk Benson to placate Midwestern critics. . . . State Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr. leading balanced budget fight in Virginia legislature, may run for Governor in 1961.

Besides mystery subs in Argentina's Golfo Nuevo, four more Soviet submarines spotted off Cuban coast last month. Intelligence sources recall Castro got arms from Soviet subs during guerrilla days. . . . Serious split between pro-China and pro-Russia factions in Uruguay Communist Party. Party, already controlling Uruguayan Press Association, out to grab printers and newspaper distributors unions. . . . Italy's Communist boss Togliatti offers to join Christian Democrats in forming government—without Socialists. . . . Turin's La Stampa consoles readers for Khrushchev's insults to President Gronchi in Moscow by reminder K. gave Macmillan and Nixon same treatment. . . . British publication of Richard Rovere's Senator Joe McCarthy prompted orgy of anti-American book reviews, led by Laborite R.H.S. Crossman in New Statesman.

Presidential sweepstakes: Walter Reuther and labor ideologues will throw support to winner of Kennedy-Humphrey battle in Wisconsin primary. . . . If Humphrey wins, he'll also get Michigan's convention delegates plus Ohio's (Mike DiSalle will renege on Kennedy pledge). . . . Singer Frank Sinatra (madly for Adlai in '56) supporting Kennedy in '60—"revised" Sinatra platter "All the Way" becomes Kennedy campaign song. . . . Vice President Nixon making study of "excessive power concentrations" in labor and management groups.

Attorney Alexander C. Dick of New York has formed Ad Hoc Committee of Rhodes Scholars for Preservation of Connally Reservation. Members include Joseph C. Little, Bryton Barron, Willmoore Kendall. . . . Putsch to ditch Reservation now expected to fail in Senate.

Surprise of the week: Jodrell Bank Director A.C.B. Lovell in London Sunday Times: "Therein lies the surprise of Lunik. . . . We failed to locate its signals with the world's largest radio telescope."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● It has been disclosed that Soviet diplomats and secret agents are putting strong pressure on the Nobel Committee to award this year's Peace Prize to Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev is reported to feel that he surely deserves the Prize for modifying Lenin's doctrine that violent revolutionary war is necessary to Communist world domination, and promising that he will peaceably accept unconditional submission. He has further indicated, no doubt to emphasize this new approach, that he will consent to a joint award of the Prize to himself and President Eisenhower.

● The United Nations has mimeographed a brochure with which to answer a continuing stream of inquiries about Povl Bang-Jensen. Even the smirking introductory letter about the UN's enormous reluctance to "recall the record of one who has died tragically" does not prepare the reader for the shoddiness to follow. Ignoring Bang-Jensen's unquestioned ten-year record as a Senior Political Officer on its own staff—on the strength of which he was given the critical appointment as Deputy Secretary to the group investigating the suppression of the Hungarian revolt—the brochure dismisses him as a minor bureaucrat who got to be more trouble than he was worth. At that, a valiant man of honor may not be worth much—to the UN.

● Herbert Hoover, a former President who has become a senior statesman instead of a public nuisance, last week addressed an audience of 2,000 Presbyterians. Mr. Hoover declared that the Marxist-materialist philosophy has managed to infect American government at every level—local, state and federal. "The Karl Marx virus," he remarked, has been "frozen in" to the Eisenhower Administration. Its agents "are like hermit crabs which crawl into such terms as 'liberal,' 'progressive,' 'public electric power,' 'managed economy,' 'the welfare state.'" Mr. Hoover reminded his audience what it is that government control can finally consummate—the destruction of religion, the end of independent thought, dictatorship.

● On the Causes of Reactionary Resistance to Increased Levies for Higher Education: *News item:* "A course in skin and scuba diving (using underwater breathing apparatus) is being offered by the Queens (N.Y.) College School of General Studies as part of its fall program. Held in the new college pool, the course is open to both men and women . . . The course . . . will begin with the basic skills of skin-diving and progress to the more technical aspects of the use of aqualung apparatus. Registration will take place at the college on Sept. 15 (last names A-K) and Sept. 16 (last names L-Z) from 6 to 9 p.m."

● The trickle of Communists, Communist-fronters and fellow travelers back to show business is swelling to a wave. Dalton Trumbo and Nedrick Young (Nathan E. Douglas), unrepentant comrades from the Hollywood Ten, have been hired to write important screen-plays (*Exodus, Inherit the Wind*). Paramount Pictures will distribute a film (*Chance Meeting*) produced abroad by exiled American fellow travelers. Among the many reviving television personalities who have refused on Fifth Amendment grounds to answer questions concerning Communist affiliations are actress Lee Grant (who also appeared in *Anatomy of a Murder*), actors Morris Carnovsky and Howard Da Silva, director Joshua Shelley. As for radio, if you happen to live in New York, San Francisco or Los Angeles, you are currently treated to the commentary of Communists Herbert Aptheker, William Mandel and John Gates; Marxists and fellow travelers Paul Sweezy, W.E.B. Dubois and Corliss Lamont; not to mention Soviet apologists Edgar Snow and Carey McWilliams. No one seems much bothered by this red surf washing our minds. After all, if Khrushchev is brought into our homes under the President's sponsorship, why worry over his hangers-on?

● Cardinal Stepinac was a brave and passionate man. He survived Hitler and endured Tito, and never saw the difference between them, perhaps because from his point of view and others', it does not really exist. He resisted Communism in the torture chamber just as many of us some day may be called upon to do. The thousands who insisted on mourning his death by the explicit act of attending his funeral testified to the efficacy of his sacrifice; and the millions who mourn him in absentia are communicants in his spiritual gallantry. One cannot help wondering whether the secret police who will take extravagant measures to identify those whose grief is excessive, will finance their extraordinary endeavors with United States foreign aid dollars. Or will Tito be seemly, and simply take it out of general funds?

● Justice of the Supreme Court William O. Douglas has written a poignant book review in the *New York Times* of Frank Moraes' book *The Revolt in Tibet*, which describes in anguished terms the destruction of Tibetan life by the Chinese Communists. Justice Douglas is, on the record, not a man whom Communists can easily anger. For years he has served as the symbol of judicial sentimentality in any cases involv-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing Communism or Communists. But now that the Communists have gone after the Justice's beloved Tibet (he has often traveled there), they have gone too far. Characteristically, Mr. Douglas suggests we should distribute Mr. Moraes' book throughout Asia, "preferably in 10-cent or 1-cent editions": a good idea, though whether it commended itself to Justice Douglas because it is a good idea or because it is a form of foreign aid, it is impossible to say. Anyhow, we commend the review (January 31, *New York Times Book Review*, p. 1). Its sincerity is palpable. Its shock over the nature of Communist crimes is astonishing, but moving. The Communists may have enslaved a nation and liberated a Liberal.

● HIGH ECONOMIC STATESMANSHIP: Last week, Poland capitulated before 15-year-old U.S. demands that she compensate American citizens for property seized after World War II, and was reported ready to turn over $40 million to the dispossessed Americans. One day later, the U.S. Government announced it would make available to Poland, on account of the serious drought plaguing her, an extra, unscheduled, credit: $40 million.

● Over the last fortnight, the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. has: 1) attacked the New York City Police Department for "discrimination" in closing down illegal Negro numbers game bankers in Harlem; 2) attacked the *New York Times* for singling him out as "the most extreme racist" in Congress; 3) attacked the incorruptible City Police Commissioner for refusing to fill a vacant deputy commissionership with a Negro, according to Powell's instructions; 4) stood by in impotent rage when George Meany pronounced the prospect of Powell's accession to the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee "a terrible thing." All the while, there beckons like a will-o'-the-wisp the receding date for his criminal trial on charges of tax evasion.

● We never thought we'd agree with Khrushchev about the U.S., but when the Soviet Commi-czar likened United States capitalism to a "limping horse" in one of his jocular harangues he wasn't far off the mark. Where we would differ with Khrushchev is on the subject of the proper diet for horses. Here we've been feeding U.S. capitalism for years on the oats of socialism and the hay of statist controls—and the darned beast has been feeling poorly, thank you. Hasn't won a Derby or a Belmont Stakes in a coon's age. At that we'd still put our money on him against the Soviet horse. Khrushchev may say that the "Socialist steed" is "full of energy," but the last time we looked at the animal he was acting like a spavined old nag as he tried to pull a troika of consumers' goods up to a Soviet missile worker's doorstep.

● Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy hit a Senatorial ceiling (all the more painfully with his new haircut) when maneuvers to smother a minority report of the special Senate subcommittee investigating labor racketeers went woefully awry. Four subcommittee Republicans, no longer willing to be scooped by leaks from the subcommittee ex-counsel, Jack Kennedy's brother Bob, released a nine-page minority report attacking Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers for strike crime and violence. UAW, the report charged, has enjoyed a benevolent dispensation from the subcommittee's Democratic Senators in general, and the chief counsel in particular. Brother Bob "refused in more than one instance to probe into areas which would have fixed the responsibility for the career pattern of crime and violence which has characterized . . . UAW strikes . . . . The immunity which the UAW and Walter Reuther appear to enjoy seems to be based in a large part upon political intimidation and influence."

● Mr. Alger Hiss is an unhappy man. Unhappily, his happiness seems to have a more expensive price-tag than Feathercombs, Inc., can afford. Feathercombs, you recall, forgave Mr. Hiss his various indiscretions and paid him $20,000 a year in return for his business advice. Alas, Mr. Hiss has left Feathercombs for a more promising (but unstated) occupation. Said his former employer, Feathercombs President R. Andrew Smith, Alger would be better off working "for a foundation of the public service type of thing."

A Sane Explosion

We view with perplexity the alarm of the nations over the French success with the atomic bomb. Obviously the Communists are dismayed, but the rule of thumb, uncannily useful, that that which dismays the Communists ought to give us heart, seems not to have applied here. Obviously, too, there are Azanian squawks from the tribesman Nkrumah, who is just ignorant enough to take with deadly seriousness the genetic hocus-pocus with which Dr. Linus Pauling *et al.* have been trying to shape national defense policy on the subject of the detonation of nuclear bombs. Dr. Nkrumah, protesting the detonation, has seized French assets in Ghana. He has done that, we venture to predict, to the wrong country. De Gaulle is not so easy to sass as Mr. Eisenhower, and we guess it will take not more than one cold Gallic southward stare to restore to dispossessed Frenchmen their rights in Ghana; something that all the huffing and puffing of Good Neighborliness has not been able to accomplish for Americans in Cuba.

But what of London, and Washington, and Sweden, and Tunisia, and the chill with which they have greeted the French accomplishment? France, we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ought to remind ourselves, is on *our* side. And if she should ever go to the Communists' side, it is not likely that she will add substantially to the enemy's arsenal of nuclear weapons.

What are Washington and London deploring? No doubt the knowledge that in their parleys with the Soviet Union on nuclear disarmament and control, they will now have to deal France in. Authority shared means authority restricted. Washington-London laments the fact that henceforward, on atomic matters, it will be Washington-London-Paris; just as these three may some day regret it if the circle grows to, say, Washington-London-Paris-Bonn.

But what consternates the diplomats need not necessarily consternate us. In the recent eighteen months our nuclear statesmanship has been deplorable. We fell into the Soviet trap and suspended the development of our tactical atomic arsenal. In January the President refused to renew atomic tests. Now he proposes we proceed to test small explosions beneath the ground, but does not give the order to go ahead and do so. Meanwhile, Russia cranks up its propaganda machines, and collaborationists throughout the world take up the cry. It is just possible (and for this reason alone, we welcome France's achievement) that de Gaulle, for all his apparent naiveté on the subject of the Soviet Union, is man enough to brave the disapproval of Nikita Khrushchev *and* Linus Pauling, and will, by his stubborn insistence on an independent course, influence us to develop an arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons. De Gaulle's weakness derives from his own generic misreckonings—but he is gloriously impervious to external propaganda. France may fall because he knew not the nature of the enemy. But it will never fall, under de Gaulle, because he is paralyzed by Committees on Sane Nuclear Policy.

For or Against the Loyalty Oath?

The National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath, founded, manned and generaled by undergraduates, marches on, and is almost singlehandedly responsible for showing Congressmen and Senators that the precious reasoning of Messrs. Griswold, Pusey, *et al.* by no means binds America's undergraduate body, among whom there are many young men and women who do not feel in the least humiliated by the prospect of taking an oath of allegiance, or even a second oath, disavowing subversive organizations.

Thirty colleges are already represented on the governing board of the NSCLO, and many will send representatives to Washington before the 25th of February, when the bill is due for action by the Senate, to make known their position to the legislators. The Committee is urging all students who back the oaths to write, on student stationery, to their Congressmen. The Senate vote will hang on the decisions of a dozen and a half Senators who are not yet firmly committed on the issue. They are Senators Beall (Md.), Bennet (Utah), Carlson (Kans.), Case (S.D..), Chavez (N.M.), Dirksen (Ill.), Dodd (Conn.), Fong (Hawaii), Fulbright (Ark.), Hartke (Ind.), Hayden (Ariz.), Johnson (Tex.), Long (Hawaii), Long (La.), Morton (Ky.), Prouty (Vt.), Scott (Pa.), Wiley (Wisc.). . . . Professor Ernest van den Haag, of New York University, an occasional contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW, has written in the *New Leader* his position on the movement to repeal the loyalty provision of the National Defense Education Act. He has summarized his piece for the National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath, in a letter to its president, Mr. Douglas Caddy, as follows:

> I can see no reason to repeal the oath requirement of the Act. It can do no harm and it does state a legitimate requirement even if it does not enforce it. It is absurd to see any danger to freedom, academic or otherwise, in American students' swearing loyalty to their government or disclaiming support of illegal activities. The action of some college administrations

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in withdrawing from the loan program for the purpose of not tempting students to disclaim criminal activities denies to those students the right to decide for themselves and is inconsistent with the freedom which it is supposed to protect. Repealing the requirement now would surely encourage the pressure group of ritualistic liberals and the confusion of democracy with the insane mixture of anarchy and statism which it promotes. Repeal would be a victory of the liberal cliché over logic and democratic principle.

And from Professor E. Merrill Root of Earlham:

Colleges should welcome the loyalty oath in the National Defense Education Program, not with tepid assent but with flaming affirmation. To take the oath is not a punishment but a privilege. If, like the Hungarians, we must some day become Freedom Fighters, we shall know, too late, that such an oath, taken in time, might have preserved the unique freedom of our Constitutional Republic. Colleges, as islands of light, should know this best—and know it now.

Are They Serious?

Some while ago an "Association for the Preservation of Freedom of Choice" made routine application to the State of New York for a charter of incorporation. This being rejected, appeal was taken to the courts. In a ruling last July, on which we commented at the time, Supreme Court Justice J. Irwin Shapiro found that the Association was proved to be a "hate group" by "their contention that there is nothing wrong in 'merely declining to rent an apartment' to one by reason of his race, or his creed or his color." Judge Shapiro held that under such circumstances the state was not compelled by law to grant a charter.

The Association managed to secure incorporation in another state, and recently made application to do business in New York. Mrs. Caroline K. Simon, the Secretary of State, chose Lincoln's Birthday as the appropriate occasion to make public her rejection of this application. The laws of New York, she declared, "were expressly intended to deny the right and the privilege of doing business in the State of New York to any hate-group corporation. . . . The law of the state is not intended to aid or abet anti-Americanism under beguiling fronts."

We know nothing of the Association for the Preservation of Freedom of Choice, apart from this bare juridical history. We gather that it is a group of property owners who seek repeal of New York's laws forbidding certain sorts of discrimination in the rental or sale of certain types of housing. At any rate, this is the group's avowed purpose, and—since their purpose as avowed in their application is the sum total of their activity and existence to date—it is the only evidence on which Justice Shapiro, Mrs. Simon and we can judge them. This purpose, according to the Shapiro-Simon ruling, is criminal, and suffices to define the Association as an outlaw "hate group."

Mrs. Simon does not explain the interpretation of "anti-Americanism" and "beguiling front" which the law of the state "is not intended to aid or abet" by granting permission to incorporate and do business. Evidently it does not cover the cases of the Communist Party, which has done active business in New York for forty years, the New York corporation (Publishers New Press, Inc.) which publishes the Communists' official journal, the *Worker*, or the scores of incorporated fronts that cover the operations of Moscow's international *apparat*. Nor does either she or Judge Shapiro bother to explain how their rulings—which on their face inhibit the appellants in expressing and disseminating their opinions—are to be reconciled with the First and Fourteenth Amendments, with free speech and due process. Before our generation it never occurred to any court or magistrate that a man could not decline to sell or rent his property to anyone, for any or no reason; or that if he declined to sell to someone by reason of race, color, or creed, it followed that he "hated" that race or color or creed. It should not be surprising if it takes some citizens a few years to swallow the new set of rules.

But implicit in the Shapiro-Simon ruling is an even more startling doctrine, which we are surprised to find pass with no comment from the press or the legal profession. Suppose, as we asked last summer, that NATIONAL REVIEW publishes an article critical of these New York State rental laws, or questioning —let us say—the advisability of federally enforced racial integration in the schools. Do we thereby become, by the Shapiro-Simon doctrine, a "hate sheet," which, in all logic, should be barred from New York State? Ought our New York charter of incorporation be thereon revoked? Suppose it were—it is not quite unthinkable—*Business Week*, *Time* or *Harper's*? Is New York to shut down all Woolworth and Kress stores within its borders because they do not serve Negroes seated at lunch counters in their southern branches? Are Morgan, Stanley—and Kuhn, Loeb—to be run off Wall Street for their financial transactions with South Africa? Are we now to understand that the corporate purpose—including the merely suspected purpose—of a group of citizens must receive from the state authorities a certificate of moral and political approval before being granted the legal right to do business?

The Shapiro-Simon doctrine confirms once more a tantalizing paradox of contemporary Liberalism. The egalitarian state of the Liberal ideologue's ideal is (if we may adapt an aphorism of Stalin's) not the antipodes but the father of totalitarianism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What About Atomic Power?

On the AP wire one day last week:

Honolulu: Mr. David Lilienthal, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, stated that the possibilities of atomic power plants have been "grossly oversold" and that "by and large, the program has been a flop and is not to be taken seriously." There are still economic and safety problems to be solved, he said, "before electricity can be produced commercially from atomic energy."

London: The British Government, which already has a number of atomic energy power installations in successful operation, has announced that it will build a new plant to be the largest atomic power plant in the world and to cost between $168 and $182 million.

Washington: The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, in its report to the Congress, just released, gives details on 18 atomic power plants producing civilian power, built and under construction in the U.S. as of September 30, 1959, for which $717 million have been expended or committed. This does not include our nuclear Navy which now has 37 nuclear submarines and three surface ships operating, under construction, or authorized.

Sermons and Stones

President Eisenhower and Governor Nelson Rockefeller have recently concurred on a hairline distinction in the matter of federal aid to education. They think it perfectly all right for Washington to put up money for local school buildings—as the Governor wittily says, "After all, a school building can't be told what to think." But as for helping to finance teachers' salaries, both the President and the Governor are against it. Said the President, "I do not believe the federal government ought to be in the business of paying a local official. If we're going into that, we'll have to find out every councilman and every teacher and every other person that's a public official of any kind, or public servant, and try to figure out what his right salary is."

Well, opposition to paying local teachers from Washington represents principle of a sort. But this business of holding that buildings "can't be told what to think" is sophistical, to say the least. Bricks and mortar do not speak, but the school boards which authorize them most certainly do. And to believe that federal money might not influence school boards into taking a "don't bite the U.S. Office of Education" position is fanciful. Moreover, the same school boards that would be accepting building funds from Washington also hire teachers and set their salaries. Under such circumstances the canny teacher might well hear sermons in building blocks, voices from the panelling in the faculty coffee room, and even hushed warnings from the very desk in front of him not to go out on a limb about such a thing as States' Rights.

I Have in My Hand the Names of Four McCarthy Supporters

Anyone who digs into the McCarthy years is bound to run into the *Capital Times* of Madison, Wisconsin, whose editor, Mr. William Evjue, strove hard to earn the title of Senator McCarthy's most irresponsible critic (and almost succeeded).

The momentum of the paper's passion against McCarthy has not given out and reached, last week, lengths which would surely have brought citizens of Madison down in convulsive laughter, if laughter were more widely licensed in Madison, Wisconsin. The *Times'* Washington correspondent (a Mr. Ronald May, who together with Drew Pearson's leg-man, Jack Anderson, authored the most disreputable volume on McCarthy ever written, a song of hate which Richard Rovere in his own recent volume cites as solemnly as though he were quoting Wigmore on Evidence—that same book by Rovere which Professor Eric Goldman of Princeton called an important historical work!) . . . As we were saying, before the parentheses set in, this Mr. May is still around, still writing, and for whom other than the Madison *Capital Times*? Last week the paper featured a story headlined in red right across its front page: "NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE IS CALLED LAST STRONGHOLD OF MCCARTHYISM." And what do you suppose the burden of the story is? That the National War College "deserves a closer look" because it occasionally invites to lecture to its students "friends and supporters" of McCarthyism, defined as "the now-discredited philosophy of slander and phony anti-Communism." The paper names four persons who fall in that category.

Senator McCarthy will be remembered as having mentioned that those with backgrounds of unrepentant pro-Communism should not hold down government jobs. The *Capital Times,* which fought fiercely this position, now has one of its own: no one whose views were the same as McCarthy's should hold down government jobs—or even address a class at the National War College! We are to hunt down, via guilt by association, not the witches, but the witch-hunters!

Incidentally, the four persons (out of 405 guest lecturers) to whom the *Times* objects are 1) David Lawrence ("a McCarthy-lining newspaper columnist"); 2) Dr. Edward Teller (He ". . . went to unusual lengths to drive an old rival, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer . . . out of government service as a secur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ity risk . . . [he is also a] friend, long-time associate and vociferous defender of Lewis L. Strauss . . ."); 3) Robert Morris ("chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which has concentrated its energies, facilities and millions of taxpayers' dollars on trying to prove the wild McCarthy charges. So far not one has been proven . . ."); and 4) William F. Buckley Jr. (his sins are so numerous and so scarlet that they occupy the entire balance of the story).

Does anyone still doubt the virulence of ritualistic Liberalism?

Sweetening the Samovars

One of our men, visiting in Havana the other day, reproached his cab driver for Cuba's too-cordial hospitality to Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan. The reply came with pre-Castro Latin suavity: "We only attempt, in our modest way, to follow the example set by our big sister to the North." And remembering the fawning welcome given a year ago to that same Mikoyan when he reached our shores, and a little later to his boss, that shuts all of us up on that point.

Still, it does seem excessive that, by the terms of the Castro-Mikoyan Pact, we Yanqui taxpayers are going to be subsidizing the sugar that sweetens the tea drawn from the samovars of all the Russias. That is exactly the fiscal meaning of Mikoyan's deal on sugar.

Russia will buy a million tons of Cuban sugar per year, nominally at the world market price of about 2¾¢ a pound; actually below this, because 80 per cent of the payment will be in Soviet goods that are customarily assigned inflated markups. The Cuban cost of sugar production is approximately 3¼¢ a pound. Thus the sale to Russia is at a substantial loss. How is this loss made up? or, rather, who makes it up?

We do. We do by purchasing 3,000,000 tons of Cuban sugar at a price averaging more than two cents per pound *above* the world market price, thus comfortably higher than the production cost. We have done so partly to control our sugar supply, primarily to bolster the shaky economy of a Cuba that we regarded as a junior but cherished friend, associate and ally.

The Castro regime has not only made it unambiguously clear that under its rule our subsidy will go to sustain a Cuba that can be neither friend, associate nor ally. Now, through the Mikoyan deal, part of the sum—twelve or more million dollars yearly—becomes a subsidy to sweeten the Communist tooth.

Suffocated as our policy may be in the State Department's fear of "offending the Cuban people" if we stand up for the rights of our citizens and flag, can we not at least stir a grain of common sense into our sugar program? If Castro wishes to sell as he chooses on the world market, to our enemies as well as our friends, then why do we not buy on the world market, at the market's price, from anyone who will sell, from her competitors as well as from Cuba, first come first served?

Notes and Asides

Readers will be interested to learn that Russell Kirk's column (issue of Jan. 16, 1960) describing the relegation of the scholarly conservative quarterly *Modern Age* at the library of the University of Wyoming to a shelf marked "Propaganda," has had immediate and desirable effect. In its defense, the president of the University explains that *all* unsolicited publications sent to the University Library have traditionally been filed on the "Propaganda" shelf, on the presumption that the literature in question emanates from special interest groups, for instance "Communist publishing houses." The appearance of Mr. Kirk's column has prompted the Librarian to change the designation of the shelf for journalistic waifs: "This file is now called the 'Miscellaneous file'." As it happens, two months before the appearance of Russell Kirk's exposé, the Library broke down and subscribed to *Modern Age*, and even ordered all back issues for its permanent files.

The one question unanswered by the president of the University of Wyoming is why the Librarian—or even his assistant, or even his assistant's assistant—did not bother to open the first issue of *Modern Age*, read three sentences of any of its pages, and arrive at the inescapable decision that *Modern Age* is not "propaganda" in any currently accepted use of the word, and that therefore it should never have been consigned to a Propaganda shelf. The question, in other words, remains whether a Librarian can be expected to read a periodical before classifying it. On that question, Mr. Kirk and the president of the University of Wyoming have yet to state their position.

In This Issue—

We feature what we call a "primer" to the arms controversy—a hard look at the vocabulary and concepts which are being traded about, an understanding of which is essential to meaningful participation in the crucial debate on our defense policy. . . . THOMAS MOLNAR, the distinguished French scholar and philosopher who teaches at Brooklyn University, is a Hungarian by birth, a regular correspondent for *La*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nation Française, the author of two books to be published in the near future, one on education, another on George Bernanos. Mr. Molnar transcribes the views on Algeria of Mr. Michael Clark of the *New York Times.* They are not the views we have had to become accustomed to reading. . . . MR. W. F. RICKENBACKER, who scores a T.K.O. against the historian Henry Steele Commager, appears for the first time in NATIONAL REVIEW. He identifies himself as follows: "You ask for 'particulars.' I am the younger son of Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, who is chairman of Eastern Air Lines. I'm a free-lance investment counselor. This letter took me three days to write.* It's not easy to boil 32 years off and keep only twenty words in the pot. Sincerely yours." (*Rank garrulity. Flaubert spent *cinq jours pour une page.*) . . . FRANK MEYER pursues his Hundred Years War against Liberal clichés, exercising himself this time on "forward-looking." Mr. Meyer's new book, *Why Freedom,* will be published by the Henry Regnery Company next spring. . . . GARRY WILLS, who will receive his doctorate in the classics department at Yale in the near future, and who has just completed a book on G. K. Chesterton, writes an eloquent and convincing answer to E. Merrill Root on the place of Ayn Rand in the development of American conservative thought. . . . JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, who continues to work on his study of William Graham Sumner, examines a book by Edwin L. Dale Jr. of the *New York Times* on the Eisenhower Administration; DR. J. B. MATTHEWS reviews two books sponsored by the Fund for the Republic; and PROF. FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN, temporarily back from Spain where he has been living for two years, examines the controversial lectures of Sir Charles Snow on "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution." Happy reading.

A Staff Report

The Arms Debate: A Primer

1. *What is at issue in the arms debate?*

Many things are at issue. The debate is a battle in the 1960 Presidential election campaign. It is part of the continuing struggle for ascendancy among the three components (Army, Navy, Air Force) into which the obsolescent structure of our military establishment still divides. It is a contest for orders and profits among the competing armament firms.

Two major strategic questions are also at issue:

(A) Do we have an adequate defense against Soviet nuclear attack?

(B) Do we have an adequate limited warfare force?

Both questions are decisive for the nation's security and survival. But the first is more immediately critical. If the answer to (A) is, or becomes, *No,* then we confront immediate and total defeat. If the answer to (B) is *No,* then the process of defeat would be more drawn out, with future chance of correction.

2. *Do we have an adequate limited warfare force?*

The negative answer to this question—put explosively and with some exaggeration by the Army's ex-Chief of Staff, General Taylor, and with more discretion by its present Chief, General Lemnitzer, and the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Burke—is undoubtedly justified. The primary deficiencies are qualitative: a lack of modernized weapons and mobility, and a too low professional level, due partly to sentimentalized training methods and, in the Army's case, to the disintegrating effects of the conscription system. Quantitatively, U. S. doctrine assumes, as it must, that our own limited warfare forces are fleshed out by allied forces.

The limited warfare problem has little psychological or political glamor. There seems no possibility that anything important will be done about it in 1960.

3. *What is the U. S. "defense concept" in relation to Soviet nuclear attack?*

There is at present no adequate direct defense against a nuclear attack by ballistic missiles, or even by aircraft, although local defense measures, active and passive, including "civil defense," could greatly lessen the destruction. The basic defense must be indirect, through the threat of *retaliation.* We *deter* the enemy from attacking us by possessing the capability of replying to his attack by a retaliatory blow which would cause him an "unacceptable" amount of damage.

Conditions of Deterrence

4. *How much damage is "unacceptable" to the Soviet leaders?*

No one knows, and in any case the amount might change with circumstance. Most analysts probably figure that the likelihood of 10 or 15 million deaths with the destruction of ten or more principal industrial complexes would be "unacceptable." But the Soviet Union absorbed 25 million deaths and immense physical destruction in World War II. Moreover, Communist ideology, with its metaphysical subordination of the individual to History, motivates the sacrifice of almost any number of individuals so long as this could be conceived as promoting the Revolution. It would be a serious error to attribute to the Communists our own idea of a limit of acceptability.

5. *What is the general requirement for a deterrent retaliatory force?*

To carry out its mission, the retaliatory force must be—and be known to be—so constituted that after *sustaining a Soviet attack* it will have enough vehicles, capable of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

carrying H-bombs (or comparable weapons of mass destruction), to cause the unacceptable damage. Strictly speaking, the retaliatory force consists only of those vehicles that would be left after an attack: that is, the vehicles which are, either because of individual characteristics or by virtue of statistical selection, *invulnerable* to attack. In summary: a deterrent retaliatory force must be invulnerable.

In order to be sure that we possess retaliatory power it is necessary: a) to make a maximum estimate of the damage that Moscow would judge "acceptable"; b) to assume that the enemy launches his attack under optimum conditions (including surprise); c) to assume further that his attack accomplishes the maximum damage of which it is technically capable.

6. *What is the "missile gap"?*

"Missile gap" refers to a situation in which the enemy has more operational strategic missiles than we do.

7. *Is there a missile gap?*

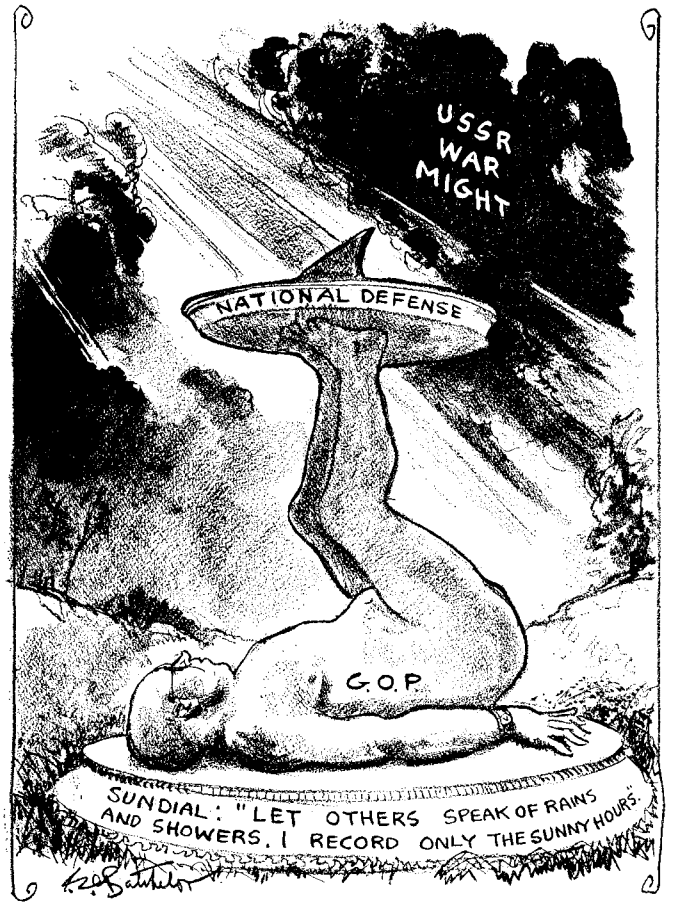
Yes. There is a missile gap right now, though neither side yet possesses a strategically significant number of operational missiles. The missile gap will continue for at least three years, and will expand in absolute numbers if not in ratio.

What the Gaps Mean

8. *Is the missile gap fatal?*

No, not in and of itself. Missiles are only one element of the deterrent force. A nominal preponderance of missiles is of no strategic significance if it cannot accomplish the decisive task of an attack: namely, to reduce the retaliatory force to negligible proportions.

General Power's testimony that this could be done by 300 enemy missiles, only half of them intercontinental (ICBM's) is premature. Missiles are not tested weapons, and cannot yet be expected to perform with as few flaws as General Power's prognosis assumes. It is technically impossible that the launching of 300 first-generation, liquid-fueled missiles should be coordinated for a simultaneous surprise attack. Moreover, our retaliatory strength is continuously, even if slowly, increasing and it requires an



enemy preponderance of at least three to one per unit to assume a knockout by attack.

However, the existing and prospective missile gap—which results from the policies of both the Truman and the Eisenhower Administrations—confirms in objective military terms the defensive assumption of U. S. strategy. Because of the missile gap in our disfavor, the Kremlin *knows*—independently of words, which may always be deceptive—that we will not initiate a strategic attack in the period ahead. Without missile superiority, we cannot to so. This realization gives the Kremlin great flexibility in the conduct of its international policy.

9. *What is the "deterrent gap"?*

As relevant to the current arms debate, a "deterrent gap" would mean that we do not possess a retaliatory force, whether of missiles or of other devices, invulnerable to attack in sufficient degree to be able to reply with unacceptable damage.

10. *Is there a deterrent gap?*

Not at present. The U. S. has developed a mixed or multiple deterrent force: long-range aircraft; medium-range aircraft operating from overseas bases; aircraft operating from carriers; intermediate range, liquid-fueled missiles at overseas bases; long-range liquid-fueled missiles (just three at present) at home bases. Except for the carrier-based planes, which are exposed to air attack, these vehicles are all at fixed locations and are relatively slow in response. Potentially, therefore, they are vulnerable to enemy attack, especially to a surprise attack primarily with missiles. However, the enemy does not at present have a striking force adequate to knock out enough of our vehicles, dispersed as they are over a hundred or more sites, to inhibit retaliation. That is, our retaliatory force is not at present vulnerable.

Beginning next autumn we hope to have solid-fueled Polaris missiles ready for arming nuclear submarines. Beginning in 1962 or 1963 we hope to have solid-fueled Minuteman missiles that can be launched from railway trains or trucks. These missiles would be virtually immune to enemy destruction, individually as well as statistically, and would therefore—when

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and if made operational in sufficient quantity to constitute true weapons systems—guarantee the invulnerability of our retaliatory force.

Possession of the Polaris and Minuteman systems is at least three years off; in fact, is not assured even then, or ever, by current budgetary projections. We must meanwhile rely on the present force, with the gradual addition of a relatively small number of liquid-fueled Atlas and, perhaps, Titan ICBM's. The Atlas missiles, now operational, are to be poised at fixed soft (*i.e.*, vulnerable) bases. Some Titans would be at fixed hardened (less vulnerable, but not invulnerable) bases; but Titan is still far from operational status.

Granted our strategic force as at present existing and deployed, and as programmed for the next three years, it is technologically possible for the enemy—if he makes a maximum effort focused on solid-fueled missiles with refined guidance mechanisms—to reach a striking position from which he could destroy our retaliatory power.

That is: a deterrent gap may come into being some time during the next three years.

11. *Is a deterrent gap fatal?*

Yes. If a deterrent gap opens up in our disfavor, we will either surrender or be smashed.

Capabilities and Intentions

12. *Should we plan our military defense in terms of the enemy's "capabilities" or his "intentions"?*

The enemy's "political" intentions, his friendly or hostile diplomatic posture of the moment, etc., are irrelevant to the problem of military defenses. In any case, we know his over-all political intention: to bury us. What might be called his "technological" intentions do enter legitimately into our calculations. For example, if we know he possesses no factory able to turn out weapon X and that it takes a minimum of three years to construct such a factory, then we have objective confirmation that he does not "intend" to produce X in the next few years, and we can adjust our plans accordingly. "Intention" in this sense is really interchangeable with "capability." If he is turning out ten units of weapon Z per month, and could double the output merely by adding a second shift, then our own plans must assume the higher, not the lower, output. Otherwise, we gamble the nation's security on our ability not only to read but to predict his mind.

13. *What is the "air-borne alert"?*

This means putting planes of the Strategic Air Command into the air, fully armed, so that they could not be destroyed on the ground in a surprise attack. The alert can be temporary, during a period of presumed tension or crisis. There have been temporary alerts in the past, and they are allowed for in the present Administration budget. They are useless as a solution of the strategic problem, which is to protect the deterrent force from annihilation in a surprise attack. Obviously the surprise attack would be mounted when SAC was *not* on air-borne alert. A temporary alert would make sense only as part of an *offensive* threat, which is excluded by U. S. strategic doctrine.

A "continuous air-borne alert" would keep a certain percentage of SAC planes *always* in the air.

14. *Do we need a continuous air-borne alert?*

Probably not for the moment. But such an alert is the principal and probably the only means to guarantee an adequate retaliatory force in the years before we have Polaris and Minuteman systems. Only a continuous air-borne alert can assure protection against the deterrent gap that is technologically possible for that period.

A continuous alert is an awkward operation. For it to begin late this year means that steps must be taken now: to stock replacement engines and other parts, organize schedules, train additional crews, etc.

How Lucky Can We Be?

15. *Does the Administration's program, as now submitted to Congress, provide adequately for the common defense?*

No. Because it does not close the technological possibility of a deterrent gap, the Administration's program involves a gamble with the nation's security that is neither justified nor necessary. With luck, we could get by; but it is improper, when the survival of the nation is at stake, to rely to such a degree on luck.

16. *What minimum essential changes, in relation to the problem of deterrence, should be made in the Administration's defense program?*

a) Provision for a continuous air-borne alert to begin as soon as it can be technically prepared; b) an increase in the production rate of Atlas, our sole operational ICBM, and the dispersal of some of the added missiles on additional, quickly built, minimum-facilities bases; c) greater dispersal of SAC planes, including stationing of single planes at airfields or useable runways outside of the SAC complex; d) restoration of the B-70 (supersonic bomber) program, along with correlated program for advanced air-to-ground missile; e) speedup of Minuteman development; f) speedup of Polaris program, and its expansion to permit development of full-scale Polaris weapons system (80-100 submarines)—the optimum strategic force so far conceived—if Polaris proves out; g) hardening of IRBM and ICBM bases as and where feasible; h) a serious drive to get fallout shelters built.

17. *Could these changes be made without a budgetary deficit?*

Yes. For the fiscal 1961 budget, these changes would cost perhaps two or three billion dollars. The budget figures show more than that as surplus, not to speak of the eight or ten billions in subsidy and welfare fat that could be squeezed out. For that matter, the required sum could be squeezed out of unnecessary, outmoded and bureaucratically inflated items in the defense budget itself.

18. *With these changes, would our strategic policy be adequate?*

No. We would still have a below-par limited warfare force. We would still have an utterly insufficient political warfare force and program. We would still be hamstrung by a purely defensive outlook. But at least we would minimize the chance that we may be destroyed in the next immediate period, would gain confidence in dealing with the enemy's efforts at nuclear blackmail, and would put ourselves in a calmer spot from which, if we chose to do so, we could move on to the further problems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Spacious Ideas of Mr. Commager

An incisive textual analyst looks over the latest confection of a big-time spokesman for ritualistic Liberalism. Will Commager ever be the same again?

W. F. RICKENBACKER

Mr. Henry Steele Commager has written an essay[1] that describes his views of statesmanship and the reasons for what he identifies as a dearth of statesmen in the last half-century.

First he shows why he believes there are fewer statesmen now than during the Revolutionary period. During the 1770s and 1780s, he says, there were twenty-nine statesmen, whom he thereupon lists: "Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, John Adams, James Wilson, John Jay, James Madison, John Marshall, and a score of others scarcely less distinguished." However, by contrast, there have been only three men "comparable to those" in the last half-century: "Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt." ("Some would add Adlai Stevenson," says Mr. Commager, who appears not to have the ability to decide whether Mr. Stevenson is a statesman or not; and by closing the list at this point Mr. Commager implies that he has never heard of anyone who would add Taft, MacArthur, or Hoover.) Mr. Commager, now falling into arithmetic, "proves" the decline in statesmanship by comparing twenty-nine with three and one-half. Q.E.D.

However, Mr. Commager soon perceives that the above procedure may not constitute irrefragable proof of a decline in statesmanship. If statesmanship involved merely people, he says, if it were only "a matter of individuals or of personalities . . . our analysis might by suspect." (Perhaps his use of the word "analysis" is overdoing it a bit.) Therefore, Mr. Commager advises us to disregard what he has said about persons, and urges us to adopt an historical method that will not be suspect: we must, that is, "look away from the great figures of history to the principles they formulate."

Immediately disregarding this advice, Mr. Commager undertakes to count up the number of "inventions" attributable to the two epochs he is contrasting. The Founding Fathers, he tells us, "invented—or perfected—almost all of our major political institutions." With that multitude of inventions the twentieth century makes a poor comparison, according to Mr. Commager, because the only twentieth-century inventions that can match the work of the Founding Fathers are "the concept of regional development crystallized in TVA and the Marshall Plan."

In Mr. Commager's attitude toward the Marshall Plan we may discern the spaciousness of his intellect. He excludes George Marshall from the list of men who are statesmen, but he includes Mr. Stevenson, who he admits "is as yet untried." Then he repudiates the arithmetical method of measuring statesmanship by counting up statesmen and begins to count up the acts of statesmanship, temporarily defined as inventions. This gambit allows him to define Marshall's plan as a piece of statesmanship without having to call Marshall a statesman.

Relaxed Impression

Another insight into the spacious thinking of Mr. Commager lurks beneath that phrase, "concept of regional development." The Founding Fathers, foreseeing the possibility and desirability of cooperation between the states, wrote into the Constitution (Art. II, Sec. 10) a provision for treaties between the states, subject to the approval of the Congress. If cooperation between the states assumes the concept of regional development, then we have no choice but to credit the Founding Fathers with that concept. However, it appears that Mr. Commager has a relaxed impression about the probable meaning of the word "concept," taking it to mean something like "putting into practice." With his private vocabulary he finds it reasonable to assert that the Founding Fathers did not conceive of treaties between the states when they wrote the enabling legislation for treaties between the states, but that Franklin Roosevelt did invent the concept of treaties between the states when he authorized the TVA. Adhering to Mr. Commager's rules of English, one might say that the engineer who designs the bridge does not introduce the concept of the bridge, for the concept is introduced by the contractor who orders the steel.

Now that Mr. Commager has shown us that concepts are born only when concrete is poured, we might say the matter is settled. But a question comes to the mind of the casual reader. If Mr. Hoover succeeded in organizing the Colorado River basin project with a compact between seven states as far back as 1921, representing the first application of the treaty power provided by the Founding Fathers, and if pouring concrete means inventing concepts, why does not Mr. Commager assign to Mr. Hoover the credit for one of the two sole acts of statesmanship in the twentieth century? This seems at first to be a difficulty of the Commager theory of statesmanship, but the casual reader is readily outwitted by a master historian. One must remember that the Colorado River basin project was commenced under an Administration that has not qualified as being statesmanlike; therefore, as is implicit in Mr. Commager's thesis, the project cannot be defined as a piece of statesmanship. For only statesmen perform like statesmen. On the contrary, the TVA was authorized by a certified statesman, and therefore the TVA is a piece of certified statesmanship.

This seems easy, but the startled reader may remember that the Marshall Plan is defined as an act of

[1] "Urgent Query: Why Do We Lack Statesmen?", *New York Times Magazine*, Jan. 17, 1960

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

statesmanship at the same time that George Marshall is excluded from the list of statesmen. This seems like a difficulty. Indeed it is a difficulty, and Mr. Commager wisely forbears to comment on this regrettable aspect of his dissertation. I suspect that the distinction resides in the difference between concrete poured in Colorado and concrete poured in Tennessee. This is a broad, urgent topic, and we may expect to see in due course a volume or two from the famous pen.

At this point Mr. Commager has defined his subject as follows: Mr. Hoover is not a statesman, therefore his dam is not statesmanship; Mr. Roosevelt is a statesman, therefore his dam is statesmanship; Mr. Marshall is not a statesman, but his plan is statesmanship; Mr. Stevenson has done nothing, but he may be a statesman, or he may not be a statesman. Further clarification is produced by the assertion that there were twenty-nine Founding Fathers and several inventions between 1770 and 1790, but there are only three and one-half statesmen and only two inventions in the years 1910-1960. Therefore, we have a lack of statesmen. Mr. Commager pursues his subject by moving on to the title-theme: "Why?"

Villain of the Piece

The first argument he thinks of is social: in the Revolutionary period, he says, everyone was interested in politics, therefore the best people were politicians. "And a society where lawyers argue political principles before the jury, where parsons expound them from their pulpits, and judges from the bench, where the talk is everywhere of great political issues, is one where everyone of talent naturally gravitates to the public service." Conversation, says Mr. Commager, makes statesmen. (Thus, the more Summit meetings, the more statesmen?) On the other hand, our present situation does not encourage statesmanship, because we have our minds in the wrong place. "If we ask what our young people are expected to admire and emulate," says Mr. Commager, "the answer is easy enough. It is private enterprise." Now the villain of the piece makes his entrance. Private enterprise has taken away all of our best minds. (Leaving the clods to be historians?)

This social argument commends itself to the racing reader but does not survive inspection. Mr. Commager overlooks one thing: in 1770-1790 the men and women of this country involved themselves in treason. They did not need a professor of history to tell them that what they were doing carried grave consequences for themselves and their children. Daily politics may never enlist the hearts of all men and all women, but treason in the land will stir up entire populations. In 1770-1790 the people conducted a revolution, swept the land clear of the old tyranny, and established a government in liberty for themselves and, they hoped, for their posterity. What more human response than that they should support this perilous enterprise with constant, anxious and serious discussion? Mr. Commager says that the talk came first and that the statesmen emerged as a result of the conversation. The most casual observer of the human heart must notice how anxious and earnest is the discussion that precedes, accompanies and follows an irrevocable decision. Just as the earnest public discussion was a component of the revolutionary spirit, so were the statesmen, or I should say, so was the appearance of the statesmen the result of the crisis. The desperate endeavors of those years gave the opportunity of leadership to the men who were able to conduct a revolution.

Who sees the iron in his neighbor's heart before the torch of war is lit? During the century and one-half of relatively tolerable colonial government before the Revolutionary period, where were the statesmen? Is it not likely that there were alive in 1670-1690 men who might have led a revolution had they had sufficient revolutionaries to follow them? Crisis judges friends, runs the Greek proverb. Crisis judges all men, and it exposes their natural leaders. The people are not divided, as Mr. Commager implies, into a mass of clods to be led by a handful of gods. There are village-Hampdens yet. It is the depth of the crisis that determines the quality of the leadership. When all the other leaders failed, then Xenophon was called. That was yesterday. Today it is de Gaulle, summoned back in his nation's agony. The point is that the crisis must exist before the hero will rise up.

The cry of crisis year by year, followed by the clamor for statesmen, betrays one of the signal syndromes of the parlor revolutionary: the ideal of eternal upheaval. It is as if these people cannot conceive of a society in possession of its major goals. I have heard a comfortable Westchester matron say that if Washington and Jefferson were alive today they would be the leading revolutionaries of our time. It was clear that her admiration for the Founding Fathers saw only their revolutionary zeal and not their love of liberty. Having secured liberty, Washington and Jefferson discontinued the revolution. To a remarkable degree our society still enjoys liberty; must we then still declare a crisis, search out new leaders, start another revolution, in order to be always up and doing? Is this why Mr. Commager's trivial ramble is called "urgent"?

Mr. Commager returns to his theme shortly. "Another reason," he says, "we are short on statesmen is that we no longer train for service to the commonwealth as did the generation of the Founding Fathers." To prove this assertion he tells us that Josiah Quincy gave some volumes by political authors to his son.

In the next paragraph Mr. Commager is reminded of still another explanation of the decline of statesmanship: "the decline not only of the study of history but of the study of history in terms of great men and heroic enterprises." This assertion involves an idea of matchless spaciousness. Let us recall that Mr. Commager told us at the start of his essay that the absence of statesmanship is not "a matter of individuals or of personalities; if so, our analysis might well be suspect." Let us recall that he then advises us to "look away from" heroes to "the principles they formulate." But this method now appears to Mr. Commager to be another explanation of the decline in statesmanship, for that decline is caused by a decline in the study of history in terms of great men! Spacious is the mind, and broad the horizon, of the man who embraces opposite poles of thought.

Next Mr. Commager introduces a difficult topic. He tells us that the Founding Fathers, who were deeply versed in the history of freedom, "thought of themselves as part of a great tradition and immersed them-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves in that tradition in order to perpetuate it." Nowadays, says Mr. Commager, we do not study history in terms of great men and we do not consider the distant future. Jet transports will double in speed, he says, but we do not foresee a comparable advance in the realm of morals and culture. Here again the breadth of Mr. Commager's mind inspires awe. The Founding Fathers studied history properly by studying it in terms of great men, he says, but he urges us to look away from great men. The Founding Fathers desired to perpetuate a tradition, he says, but we moderns, in order to be like the Founding Fathers, should strive to double some aspect of our morals and our culture as we double the speed of our air transports. If you think that these ideas are contradictory, you are not a statesman.

If the Founding Fathers were statesmen because of their desire to perpetuate a tradition, why must we measure their statesmanship by counting their inventions? If prolific invention is the only test of statesmanship, then why does Mr. Commager respect the Founding Fathers' desire to perpetuate a great tradition?

Mr. Commager finds two last causes of the decline in statesmanship: national patriotism, and "statism." Statism is defined as refusal to issue the protection of a passport to a sworn enemy of the nation. National patriotism is defined as a similar hostility to Communism. Mr. Commager is unable to distinguish between national patriotism and statism. The true test of statesmanship, he writes, should be broad horizons, catholic sympathies, and spacious ideas.

Three Who Didn't Make It

With a few more disjointed gongorisms Mr. Commager brings his essay to a close. I wish he had started at this point, because it seems that the broad horizons and catholic sympathies and spacious ideas suffer from lack of definition. Mr. Commager tells us that these things are the test of a statesman. But the private American citizen who, serving without pay, saved a nation from hunger by organizing the Belgian Relief in the First World War—he is not one of Mr. Commager's statesmen. Perhaps the man was a statesman who dreamed

Henry Steele Commager

up the plan under which the United States has given away $70 billion? Well, the plan is an act of statesmanship, but, for reasons not divulged, the author of it is not a statesman. Perhaps the man was a statesman who, almost alone in this country, argued the injustice of the Nürnberg trials and counseled mercy to the defeated leaders? No, not Taft; one must have catholic sympathies. Perhaps the man was a statesman who, in his person, gave to the Japanese people the love and the understanding and the practice of liberty, who remolded the millenial conscience of a nation of eighty million souls, spread hope through the vanquished land, and guided their first steps toward a position of economic and political eminence? No, not MacArthur; he is not a statesman. What we need is broad horizons, catholic sympathies, spacious ideas. "Some would add Adlai Stevenson but he is as yet untried."

In his essay Mr. Commager looks yearningly back to the days of a "great community of art and letters and philosophy and science cutting across and transcending mere national boundaries." Mr. Commager would like to be a member of such a community as that, but he intimates that such a community does not exist in the modern world.

Whether such a community now exists may be debated and does not affect our judgment of Mr. Commager. If such a community did exist, it would certainly exclude Mr. Commager. For a community of intellect must converse according to the rules of intellect: that is, according to the accepted mode of language and the accepted laws of logic. Mr. Commager writes with a private set of meanings to English words that ordinary people understand in the ordinary way, and his logic is so capricious that he can in one short essay sustain the opposite poles of the following contradictions, not one of which is recognized by him as a contradiction:

He says that it is desirable to inherit and perpetuate a tradition; but also desirable to invent new institutions. He would enjoy a world-wide community of letters and philosophy, but he will work for great changes in morals and cultures, and will disregard the discipline of language and logic. He will study history in terms of principles, because personalities are suspect; but he will study history in terms of great men and heroic enterprises. He will measure some statesmen by their acts of statesmanship; but some particular acts of statesmanship are judged according to their origin.

No Definition

Any man who produces a gallimaufry of antilogies under the name of "argument" cannot aspire to membership in a community of intellect. His way lies chaos, private law, what the Greeks called idiocy.

Ideas, to be communicated, must be unambiguous and definite. What is a spacious idea?

Definitions, by definition, set limits and exclude what they cannot include. Has Mr. Commager defined the term "statesman" when he admits that under his definition he does not know whether Mr. Stevenson is or is not a statesman? Catholicity of sentiment is a humane virtue; it spreads our warmth to the less fortunate; one would like to love everybody. But the emotion of all-inclusiveness is a powerful hindrance to rigorous thinking. "Some would add Adlai." Does this solvenly ramble constitute a definition? Does the man who calls this definition carry *carte blanche* in a community of civil discourse?

As for the phrase "broad horizons," as an element in thoughtful communication it is useless. It has as many meanings as readers.

Mr. Commager must be content to restrict himself to his broad horizons, catholic sympathies, and spacious ideas. Unaware that his incoherence and slang are unintelligible to the already flourishing worldwide community of letters, he will always be yearning for communication. He is his own law. As the Greeks said, idiot.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

Out of the Frying Pan

"Forward-looking" has a brave fine sound. Who wants to be stigmatized as "backward-looking," singled out as a counsellor of retreat? And yet, what virtue is there in going forward when the road has been found to lead to disaster? Is not true courage then the willingness to turn back, to retrace one's steps as far as need be until the point is reached where the false turning occurred? Mountain-climbers, explorers, the most intrepid of men, do no less when their boldness is coupled with the wisdom that transmutes boldness into courage.

In a wider arena this is the decision that must be taken if the West is to recover wholeness and strength. Conservatives, understanding that such a return to the sources of truth is the only hope of salvation from the multiple disasters towards which our revolutionary age is moving, have steeled themselves against the *mystique* of the new, the prevailing prejudice that only innovation is valuable, that salvation arises from innovation.

When, however, a man who has followed the collectivist dream of forcing human perfectibility becomes aware that what he believed would lead to paradise on earth is leading only to the dead ashpits and living torment of totalitarian tyranny, his agony of search for meaning in life is compounded by the *mystique* of the novel. Some do turn back to their heritage, but more take refuge in a variety of ideologies which, whether they are modern constructions of the Western intellect or importations from other civilizations, are all alien to the central tradition of the West. The existentialism of Sartre and Heidegger, Indian Vedanta, Zen Buddhism — the particular fashion changes, but all these intellectual refuges have in common a rejection of that high tension between the freedom of the person and his responsibility to transcendent truth which is the Western heritage.

And, alongside of these succeeding fashions, Sigmund Freud's vision of the human condition has continued to exert a strong attraction upon the dispossessed of collectivism. I do not here refer to Freud's techniques of mental therapy, or to that watered-down Freudianism which has served for a generation or two as substance for drawing-room chit-chat, or to the gospel of adjustment derived from neo-Freudian sources that has been so usefully absorbed into the collectivist armory of social control. It is not these aspects and derivates of Freud's thought, but his essential dark metaphysical vision that attracts the homeless intellectual.

Freud is at the other pole from the melioristic Utopianism of the collectivists. He sees men caught in a narrow strait, without exit, between primitive instincts whose full satisfaction alone will make us whole, and the pressures of a civilization without which we cannot live but which represses those instincts and cruelly distorts our being. This is a vision of men condemned, a perverse concept of original sin in a world without transcendent truth and without the freedom with which to choose truth, a world closed, dour, without grace.

Cutting the Gordian Knot

Given the emerging realization that men suffer from some primordial imperfection—a truth which presses itself upon those who have become disillusioned with modern Utopias—and given a refusal to accept the existence of transcendent Perfection, this metaphysic makes a strong appeal. But only the sternest and most stoical can live with it. No wonder, therefore, that effort after effort has been made to modify it, to smuggle in some gleam of hope.

The latest and most ambitious of such efforts is a book which is likely to have a most profound influence upon the intellectual consciousness of many of those breaking free from collectivism, but unwilling to return to the sources of their tradition. Published a year or so ago by Wesleyan University Press, it got little notice at the time, but recently it was made the selection of the Mid-Century Book Society, with a glowing recommendation from Lionel Trilling and the other judges, and it has now been selected by Modern Library for paperback publication this spring. Its author, Norman O. Brown, explicitly states that his thinking is derived from an awareness of the "superannuation of the political categories which informed liberal thought and action in the 1930s."

The book, *Life against Death* (Wesleyan University Press, $6.50; Modern Library, $1.25), represents a tremendous intellectual effort to retain the Freudian analysis of man's nature and a wholly materialist view of existence, while reintroducing hope —hope for human action directed towards a new Utopia. Mr. Brown's project is to cut Freud's Gordian knot by abolishing civilization and freeing the instincts. Stated simply so, it might seem that I distort or exaggerate, but this in sum is the substance of his argument, an argument that is pursued with an erudition, subtlety and force that might well give this book an impact today such as Nietzsche had in the late nineteenth century.

The Release of Savagery

The destruction of civilization, the release of the instincts, he believes, would release Eros, creative love, and rescue men from all his agony. But this is a program for perfect creatures, not for men. Common sense and traditional wisdom alike testify that the relaxation of the bonds of civilization releases not love, but savagery.

What is there to say when such an analysis of man's condition (and such a solution) is raised and accepted with intellectual seriousness? Revolt against the distortion of civilization that collectivism represents is understandable enough today. But surcease from present evils will not be found in flight to other extremes, but in a return to the tradition of the West with its just balance between the freedom of the person and the authority of the truth that civilization transmits from generation to generation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who Are the Algerians?

An intimate observer, discounting the headlines, finds no chance of a lasting solution for Algeria except total integration with France

THOMAS MOLNAR

Michael Clark is a "controversial" man. In plainer language, the Liberals do not like him. He has written a book, *Algeria in Turmoil* (Praeger, $6.00), based on three years' experience on the spot, and several other years in the Near East as correspondent for the *New York Times*. One would think, then, that he is qualified to comment on the current Algerian situation. Apparently not. His critics say that since his wife is an Algerian French woman, he is biased; and that since he sees a future for Algeria only if it remains integrated with France, he is a reactionary.

I spoke with Mr. Clark recently and he does, indeed, reject the simplistic formulations of the problem so much in vogue today.

Everybody and his neighbor in Africa are obtaining independence. Why not the Algerians too? Are a million European ultras a serious obstacle when great empires bow to the wind of history? Hasn't de Gaulle sufficient power to curb the rebels (the settlers, that is) and make the army feel the weight of his authority?

But his critics might be surprised to hear the anguish in the voice of this soft-spoken, sensitive man when he speaks of Algeria and its people, Moslem, Christian and Jewish. Mastery of the twentieth-century revolution, Clark rightly says, turns on the ability of governments to give bread to the masses and satisfy their longing for freedom and dignity. And the problem is, how can these objectives be pursued in the concrete instance of Algeria? To get down to cases, I put some questions to him.

What do the abstract notions of "independence," "integration," "association" mean when applied to the country's particular history, its religious-social pluralism, its organic relationship with France?

What we Americans must understand, Clark says, is that one does not pull a people like the Algerian Moslems into the twentieth century without first establishing the industrial context for such development. The problem of Algeria is, first of all, the world-wide problem of modernization. But modernization cannot be imposed against the people's wish; the Moslems have lived their *own* life within the tolerant structure of the French administration. They had their Koranic laws that only the *évolués* chose to discard in order to enjoy the status of French citizens. The rest of the population, while free to opt for French citizenship, is attached to the ancestral ways; even now many Moslems disapprove of the women who tore up their veils in the emotional turmoil of May 1958's "psychological shock."

Does this mean that the several communities which live side by side might never form a nation?

Clark's answer is nuanced. We must not, he cautions, think of Algeria as a nation in the Western sense. In the eyes of the Moslem the right to command is conferred by the ability to protect. If the French made clear their intention to stay in Algeria, the pledge would be considered by the population as a legitimate act of State. But the poison of ambiguity, the perpetual postponement of an unequivocal declaration, demoralizes Europeans and Moslems alike. The former are indignant over the prospect of abandonment. After all, they are not "colons," but farmers, workers, shopkeepers, teachers with firm attachments to their birthplace. The latter fear reprisals—the likelihood that their pro-French attitude would bring punishment at the hands of a victorious FLN. The fate of the Glaoui in Morocco and of Baccouche in Tunisia—both loyal to France—are clear warning of the savage vengeance to which they may be subjected.

> **. . . Nothing worth while will be done in Algeria so long as the rigors of republican law are not visited on the Communists and defeatists of the FLN, whose impunity has forced into despair the unfortunate victims of terrorism, and whose insults are demoralizing the Army. . . . I consider dangerous any policy of repression and revenge which may be applied against French citizens [in Algeria], even those who have been led astray, so long as terrorists guilty of frightful crimes are spared. . . .**
>
> **Jacques Soustelle**
> *Declaration on his dismissal from the de Gaulle government*

But Charles de Gaulle, above all people, surely understands the nature of authority which, as you say, must be unequivocal, reassuring, protective. In 1958 he attained an unprecedented position from which to exercise authority and had the confidence of all the elements of the Algerian community. How do you explain his present attitude toward Algeria?

I think, Clark replies, that deep in his heart de Gaulle, like many other Frenchmen on both the Left and the Right, is attached only to the *hexagone*—that is, to metropolitan France, For all we know, he may have written off Algeria and is now working out a way which will permit the army to save its face, and allow de Gaulle to stamp his name on a "liberal solution."

Then what is the meaning of de Gaulle's January 29 television address, in which he favored "the most French solution" for Algeria? Is that what he meant, on September 16,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when he urged "association" with France?

De Gaulle still favors "association," Clark believes. But association, he goes on, is a new name for the old colonialism. It means a separate Algerian State, whose vital interests, foreign policy, investment, industrialization and so on are handled by Paris. This system is already breaking down, however, in the so-called French Community. And if we exclude independence as a catastrophe for both Algeria and France, only integration remains.

Integration, Clark says, must be total; half-measures will not do at all. Let us not forget that the Algerian, from the laborer to the *évolué*, has an immense respect and admiration for France. To become a Frenchman has always been his dream—frustrated by the French as well as by the Moslem social structure. With today's high birth-rate, Algeria *needs* France. It needs more Constantine-plans—more jobs, roads, irrigation, schools and hospitals. France is helping to promote these objectives today: investment is steady; Sahara oil creates new industries; for years a minimum wage law has been strictly enforced. The advanced elements of the Moslem community are aware of these facts; they know that a French pull-out would annihilate the prospect of decent life and would create ten million paupers. Trickling "foreign aid" could not remedy such a situation.

Difficulties would, of course, remain, even with French presence guaranteed. The Moslems still must *want* modernization and industrialization before it can come to pass. But this does not mean that there is an alternative to integration. The past cannot be wiped out. Other African territories were administered as colonies, but Algeria has been part of France. Innumerable ties were woven between the two; an organic relationship has developed which cannot be ignored.

What is the significance of the recent insurrection and of the punitive measures following it? Many commentators and much of the press, both here and in France, claim that de Gaulle's show of authority has reassured the FLN that he has the power to impose the famous "liberal solution" on the European population. They imply that the FLN might now wish to negotiate, and will take a less intransigent attitude.

The opposite is true, Clark maintains. Only the naive can believe that the FLN, touched by de Gaulle's good will, is ready for a compromise. What Krim Belkacem and his friends have learned from the events of January 24 is that their real enemies, those who are for integration, have been, temporarily at least, defeated; and that as a result the army has been weakened. We must bear in mind that the May 1958 revolt was the most stinging blow yet administered to the FLN. When the very forces that struck that blow failed in their attempt to sustain their gains, it was a semi-victory, at least, for the Moslem rebels.

from *Le Canard Enchaîné*, captioned: "At last we have leadership!"

"Half lefft, march!"

(The French cartoonists have been amusing themselves with the unexpected political direction taken by de Gaulle.)

The "very forces"? Can we identify Ortiz and Lagaillarde, the leaders of the January rebellion, with the army? The latter, having moved two years ago, hesitated this time, and eventually accepted de Gaulle's authority. And is not de Gaulle, in the light of the recent "purges," now assured of the full support of the Army?

One thing seems clear, replies Clark. The army is not going to yield on Algeria. The dissolution of the *unités territoriales* and of the Fifth Bureau (psychological warfare), however deplorable, is not likely to affect the morale of officers and soldiers or to change their minds. The army's sense of mission is embodied today not in the generals, some of whom de Gaulle replaced, but in the young captains to whom de Gaulle addressed, in the summer of 1958, his famous *je vous ai compris*. Service in Algeria, with its grandeur, misery and challenge, has given the army a new consciousness, a new feeling of dedication. De Gaulle knows that this is a force to reckon with, that an army cannot be used, indefinitely, for tasks of liquidation. Even the left-wing journal *Le Monde* has remarked that the officers' corps, whether in active service or in reserve, wants to know what it is fighting and dying for. As de Gaulle did in 1940, the officers now put the country's honor before their lives. . . . And not only the officers. The Communist Party itself has admitted that the young recruit, leaving reluctantly for "colonial service" in Algeria, has developed an understanding and sympathy for France's dramatic struggle to forge stronger ties with the Moslem population.

In his recent declaration to the press, Jacques Soustelle said that Algeria cannot be pacified until the Communist Party is outlawed in France. Do we conclude from this that there is Communist agitation in Algeria?

Among Moslems there are very few Communists. In Algeria, Communism is an import article from France, and Red agitators have very little influence on the population. But the Party and its fellow travelers—and this is Soustelle's main point—openly promote a defeatist position in France. Moreover, the leaders of the FLN, though they tend to regard the Russians as soft bureaucrats, have the highest admiration for the Chinese, a colored nation which has freed itself of its own "colons."

I have little to add to Michael Clark's words. If one blames France for old abuses, one should also give her credit for her achievements. And we should understand what Algeria—both her European and Moslem populations—need most today: a strong State, secured by the spirit of legitimacy that de Gaulle claims to embody. But that assertion of legitimacy will command respect only if France keeps her word, pledged to ten million Algerians less than two years ago, that they are and will remain French.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Open Question

But Is Ayn Rand Conservative?

GARRY WILLS

Mr. E. Merrill Root has made the following contentions in your issue of January 30:

1. Ayn Rand is "our most original artist-philosopher."

2. Though not Christian, she has more love of life than most Christians, and so should be counted *more* Christian than they. (I follow the reasoning of his third and fourth paragraphs step by step.)

3. Since reason leads to God, and she believes in reason (so much so that Mr. Root refers to "her own Aristotle"), she implicitly believes in God. ("Aquinas was a mind who shares her love of Aristotle.")

4. Her work is so beautiful ("a live rabbit, beautiful upon the hills") that it reminds us—though not her—of God.

The assumptions on which these claims are based are clearly the following: 1) Atheists are completely unaware of beauty and unable to think. 2) Any thrill is "religion." 3) Any thought is "metaphysics." Only from such premises can he conclude that a mystic sense of power—the proclamation of "the sunrise of a new man"—brings one "closer to the rainbow mind of Christ" than the dreary people who believe in Christ.

Mr. Root's article makes it obvious that he does not understand the implications of his own words, far less of Ayn Rand's. Only so could he quote, as proof of her aspiration to the divine, the barest statements of man's autotelechy; as proof of her Aristotelianism, "the middle is always evil"; of her link with Aquinas, "reason is the only absolute."

Why dwell further on such ill-considered claims? Because they are offered in defense of "conservatism"—Mr. Root's and Miss Rand's. As any mental activity on Ayn Rand's part seems philosophy to him, and any manifestation of a human soul seems greatness, so any opposition to socialism, any connection with free enterprise, seems conservatism. Most of the letters which have appeared in your correspondence column noted the absurdity of the first two claims. Unfortunately, some failed to see that the third is just as invalid. The simple equation of capitalism with conservatism is not only naive, it is fatal. The right thing for the wrong reason, said Eliot, is the greatest treason. His words are precisely chosen; it is *treason,* betrayal from within, for conservatives to endorse any fanatic who agrees with certain methods which conservatives must use to implement their view of man. I like money and dislike socialism; so, for his own reasons, does the devil; so, for her own reasons, does Ayn Rand. This does not make the three of us allies.

Unearned Title

Ayn Rand is not Christian; not Aristotelian; *and not conservative.* When, in his definitive speech, John Galt repudiates all obligations to other men, he denies history, that link with one's ancestors and with all human experience which is the first principle of conservatism. When Galt asserts the immediate perfectibility of man (an *achieved* perfection in his own case), he is working from the first principle of historical Liberalism. Miss Rand's novel is of the future, but as Whittaker Chambers noticed, there are no children. Her strong hero is absolute, outside history, his own end; he becomes god and dies. Such fanatic concentration on one kind of earthly achievement is the sure sign of the breakdown of Western civilization. Ayn Rand's superman comes from the same source as the Liberal's perfect society. Her muscular and Malthusian heroes, the nineteenth century's messianic industrialists, the twentieth century's salvationist collectivists, are all expressions of Liberalism—the attempt to attain beatitude with a politico-economic program.

Conservatism has not this total drive toward some abstract scheme of economics. It is a complexus of thought, instincts and values, meant to guard, and guard against, man. The conservative does not bring to the world a perfect society or a perfect man; he tries to keep men free, open to reality on many levels, aware of diversity and mystery. He sees dangers and failings in himself; knows justice and charity must be kept awake by constant vigilance. He knows a "captain of industry" can be as ruthless as the leader of a commune. That is why he continues to be more interested in man than in the checks and balances, the patterns and schemes, which are only meant to serve man. He is interested in freedom not as a program but as a fact.

The conservative sees in history man's ever-deepening awareness of his own mystery; and he would continue this search in the setting which has proved most congenial to it, one of political and economic freedom. With the record of human folly and wisdom ever before him, he laughs at those who think they will achieve fulfillment in some "new society." He will not sacrifice other freedoms in the belief that a panacea will bring him, neatly packaged, some final "freedom." The ruthless, the humorless, the fanatic are his enemies—people like Ayn Rand—to be fought with a Johnsonian humor, reason and human balance (qualities conspicuously absent from Miss Rand's work). The conservative exists to remind men that this "new philosophy" is as old as Thrasymachus, and the response to it as old as Plato's response to Thrasymachus. The conservative is the only man who can oppose the trend toward collectivism without having to commit himself to such accidental and fanatic opponents of socialism as Ayn Rand.

One of NATIONAL REVIEW's major tasks should be a critique of what Mr. Buckley has called the failure of the conservative demonstration ("conservatives must learn to agonize meticulously"). The narrow fixations of Miss Rand, the logorrhea of Mr. Root, should meet with more strenuous opposition from conservatives than from any other group of thinkers; especially when such chaos takes to itself the unearned title of conservatism. The conservative's job is to see complexities, to continue standards, to learn from history.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Here & There in the College World

A THRILLING FACULTY DEBATE AT SMITH COLLEGE (From the *Sophian,* Smith College): "The Smith faculty has formally registered its strong opposition to the required affidavit for students accepting loans under the National Defense Education Act. At a faculty meeting last week the vote against the affidavit was unanimous. . . . The affidavit is 'unfair, unnecessary, inappropriate, and ineffective discrimination against students,' stated [Smith President] Mr. Mendenhall. Smith intends to keep the $85,000 in student loans from NDEA now in its possession [as] Mr. Mendenhall feels it would be unfair to turn back the money. . ."

ON TAKING ONE'S LEAD FROM FIDEL CASTRO (From the University of North Carolina *Daily Tar Heel*): "Eric Severeid in a radio broadcast brought out two important points in connection with the Cuban revolution. The first point Mr. Severeid made was that in order to carry out a successful revolution, which was not a palace guard revolt, one must believe enough in an idea to carry through the privations and hardships, cold, hunger, disrespect, and even death in order to see the idea fulfilled. A person must be unafraid to die or be censured. He added that it was the type of courage that Castro had that enabled him to complete his revolution successfully, and that this courage was lacked by Batista, the primary reason for his leaving. . . It might be well for the government of the United States to become aware of this maxim—that the only way democracy shall succeed in this world is if those who adhere to democracy remain consistent with the democratic ideal and do not compromise for any short range goal."

Question. Should we, uncompromisingly, declare war on Castro?

OH BOY OH BOY OH BOY DEPARTMENT (From Duke University *Chronicle,* shortly after Castro came to power): "The world 'ain't seen nothing yet' in the Cuban conflict, contends Tony Rubio, a Cuban and a junior here. The fun begins when the Cubans get their hands on the Havana cops, Rubio says."

IF DEMOCRACY DOESN'T WORK AT ONE LEVEL, TRY THE NEXT (From the *Michigan Daily*): "A partial solution to the dilemma [of the shortage of student funds] may lie in convincing the public that it must open its wallet if it wants its children to gain an education. And the federal government may have a definite advantage in this battle, for it seems that states are particularly leery of increasing their tax demands, holding a kind of pride in keeping taxes lower than the next state. The federal government, on the other hand, can present a coordinated argument for increasing taxes and then proceed to assess everyone in the nation equally, regardless of their home state."

"YES, MR. REUTHER, BUT HOW?" (title of editorial in the Duke *Chronicle*): "Reuther's speech here was not persuasive because it offered generalties as solutions for problems that will only be solved by a definite course of action. . . . All he suggested was 'to get America back to work.' In short, Walter Reuther should do less talking and more thinking."

WHO SAYS THE NSA IS INDIFFERENT TO THE SPECIFIC DIFFICULTIES OF AMERICAN COLLEGIANS? (From the Harvard *Alumni Bulletin*): "I submit that the National Student Association [can hardly be considered indifferent to student problems]. Its record includes the following: condemnation of the U.S. attorney general's list of 'allegedly subversive' organizations [quotes are from NSA documents]; opposition to loyalty oaths as 'political test oaths'; defense of use of Fifth Amendment by college professors; recommendation that Communists hold teaching positions in American colleges and universities; recommendation that its members 'consider the educational value of maintaining on campus groups labeled as subversive'; opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act; opposition to the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act."

THE ULTIMATE PROTEST DEPARTMENT (From the *Heights Daily News* of New York University on announcing the news that women will be admitted next term): "For years, the succubus hovered ominously over the weaponless battlements of the Heights. Since the awful day in 1957 on which our trustees surrendered their manhood, the demon descended with the terrifying inexorability of the wrath of God. Now it has landed, and we are obliged to prostrate ourselves in abject submission to what can only be described as the ultimate indignity that Eternity may inflict on the soul and body of man.

"Woman.

"Now it is well-known that of all the forms that woman can take the most ill-considered is that denoted by the nauseating barbarism, 'co-ed.' This phase is characterized by unkempt coiffure, either garishly painted or unadorned physiognomy — frequently, as is typical of the primitive orders, prognathous or otherwise malformed—either rachitic or overblown soma, covered by raincoat, sneakers, and, it is said, grimy underwear. The subject is too distasteful to pursue further.

"We wilt at the mere thought of sharing our yet-undefiled classic halls with such misbegotten homunculi. We recoil from the prospect of an androgynous Heights. We are outraged at the enormity that has been committed by those who push buttons in this institution. It is not impossible that we will expire at the first apocalyptic glimpse of the heedlessly extravasated horde. We will prepare ourselves now by retiring into a blissful epicene coma. We have no recourse.

"But we should conclude our lamentation on a salutary homiletic note. We quote from the admirable Lord Chesterfield, who warned his son that 'the pleasure is momentary, the position ridiculous, and the expense damnable.' "

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Accredited Arrogance

In Cheyenne, Wyoming, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools — through its Wyoming chairman, L. R. Kilzer of the University of Wyoming—has threatened to disaccredit the high schools of Cheyenne. Because of low academic standards? Not on your life; for nowadays the North Central Association's accrediting people take very little interest in book-learning, knowing that what matters is Adjustment. No, Mr. Kilzer has his back up because in Cheyenne the school board employs a business manager who is not under the direct authority of the superintendent of schools.

What does this administrative question have to do with determining the fitness for college of Cheyenne's high school graduates? Nothing, naturally, and the avowed purpose of accreditation by the North Central Association and its sister organizations is simply to ascertain whether students are adequately prepared for further studies. But during the past few years —and especially during the past eighteen months—the North Central people have been arrogating to themselves powers greater than those possessed by state superintendents of public instruction or by the federal Office of Education.

In my little village of Mecosta, I have heard such an accrediting-agent inform the school board that he disapproved of their refusing to re-employ an incompetent teacher that the board had discharged, though the local superintendent had wished to retain him. The school board is an official body, democratically elected; the accrediting functionary was a little educationist bureaucrat with no sanction in law for his aggressiveness: but he spoke with all the confidence of the Lord's anointed.

In both Cheyenne and Mecosta, I suspect, the *pronunciamento* of the accreditors was the result of collusion between the local superintendent and the North Central Association people; so, too, in the well-known case of Holland Christian High School, widely discussed last year. For most superintendents belong to the same patronage network as do the accreditors, and have formed with them an alliance against lawfully-constituted school boards. The professional-educationist accreditors, or nearly all of them, would like to see school boards swept away altogether, to be replaced by a centralized state authority with no checks on its power—and, eventually, by a federal Secretary of Education. Both state and federal offices would then be run by the educationist hierarchy.

"I feel quite sure," wrote the lordly Mr. Kilzer to two Cheyenne school principals (both, I doubt not, educationist stalwarts), "that at least advice will be given [by the North Central Association people] on that situation this year, and that no new school will be approved until it is taken care of satisfactorily." My name is Ozymandias, King of Kings; look on my works, ye mighty, and despair. Mr. Kilzer did not deign even to write to the lowly school board.

Mr. Willis Brewster, president of the Cheyenne school board, seems to have been taken aback. "We want to be accredited if it is important," he said. And he added that so far as he knows, no school board has been permitted to say one word about what the standards for accreditation ought to be.

Right! And scholars are not consulted, either; or the better private and denominational schools. These silly people might begin talking about intellectual disciplines and all that rubbish. What the North Central hierarchs are after is Life Adjustment—and power for themselves.

In 1958, the North Central Association disaccredited Holland (Michigan) Christian High School because the school board would not introduce courses in homemaking and shop. In 1959, North Central disaccredited Osborn High School (Detroit) because physics was taught in the chemistry laboratory, and because the gymnasium and manual-training facilities were called inadequate. Also in 1959, North Central disaccredited Tustin (Michigan) High School because its shop program was not strong enough, and because the principal did not have enough credits in Education for a master's degree. It should be sufficiently clear that the North Central people have no passion for the works of the mind.

Things were not always thus. Until a few years ago, accreditation by the North Central Association meant that a school prepared students tolerably well for college entrance. Then the professional educationists succeeded in a *coup d'état* within the Association, and ever since have raged over the face of the land. The world is turned upside down, so that nowadays, if a school is thoroughly approved by the North Central Association, you may be reasonably sure that it has plenty of extra-curricular activities, a new gym with a swimming pool, and expensive lathes in the woodshop—but small respect for English, history, foreign languages, and the sciences. And if a school is disaccredited by the North Central people, the odds are that such a school is competently directed by an old-fangled superintendent who reads books.

The colleges that belong to the Association know that their accreditors' criteria are silly, and disregard the Association's list of accredited schools when they admit freshmen. Last year I ascertained that, except for the University of Michigan, *every* college in my state will admit, without examination, any high school student with decent grades, *whether or not he attended an "accredited" high school.* And since then, the College of Literature, Science, and Arts at the University of Michigan, vexed at the ways of the North Central Association and the University's own Bureau of School Services, has decided to admit graduates of non-accredited high schools without prejudice—or examination.

So stick to your guns, Mr. Brewster. The North Central Association is not the law and all the prophets, though it pretends to be.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Conservatives?

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In calling his analysis of the economic performance of the Eisenhower Administration *Conservatives in Power: A Study in Frustration* (Doubleday, $3.95), Edwin L. Dale Jr. has led with his chin. A number of flippant responses come quite readily to the reviewer's tongue. The first is: "What conservatives?" Secondly, "Has Eisenhower ever actually been interested in using his power?" And again, "Wherein lies the frustration?"

No doubt it is unsporting to attack an author on the point of semantics without first trying to define his terms in a way that would be at least reasonably acceptable to himself. Mr. Dale, a Washington economics reporter for the *New York Times,* uses the word "conservative" in a loose way to separate "within the budget" spenders from the frankly inflationary variety. In other words, he is really talking about shades within the spectrum of modern "let-the-State-do-it" Liberalism. A modern "conservative," to his way of thinking, is one who has accepted practically every plank in the ADA or Leon Keyserling platform except the one that calls for the abandonment of national solvency if "human needs" require it— which, in New-Fair Deal opinion, is practically all the time.

The modern "conservative" accepts the "need" for compulsory social security. He does not become agitated by the "economic trick" of taking money away from the states and then passing it back to them for road construction or new school buildings or teachers' salaries. He does not oppose the "progressive"—or graduated—features of the income tax on the philosophical ground that they are inequitable; he would merely modify the inequity of the "take" in certain brackets to encourage investment. He subscribes to the Galbraithian notion that it is quite all right to divert money from the Chrysler Corporation (which *will* stick to those hated tail fins) and hand it over to the "social budgeteers" for "investment" in new veterans' hospitals or slum clearance. He is for the "principle," if not for the actual workings, of farm supports. He doesn't mind public power in regions watered by great rivers, not even when that public power begins to construct steam plants (which have nothing to do with the presence of rivers). And he considers that federal underwriting of the mortgage market is desirable if it keeps the housing industry booming.

The only place where the modern "conservative," as described by Mr. Dale, really differs from his ADA brother is on the score of fiscal policy. The modern "conservative" tries to make taxes cover the "modern" (*i.e.,* high) budget. He tries to "lean against the wind," via counter-cyclical monetary policy, whenever a boom threatens to get out of hand. He doesn't mind paying high interest rates on government bonds when it is a question of "managing" the national debt. And he is for conducting a "holding operation" in the matter of federal expenditures in times when inflation threatens. (His ADA brother would let the inflation rip—and, if it got too bad, would then move in with direct "controls" over such things as prices and priorities.)

So, to return to Mr. Dale's title, it is a peculiar sort of "conservative" that has been in "power" for the past seven years. (We can discount Mr. George Humphrey and, perhaps, Ezra Benson, whose "power" never had much effect on Congress.)

Mr. Dale is sympathetic with what his "conservatives" have tried to do —and he gives them some credit for having accomplished a few fiscal miracles in an age when government budgets are, as he puts it, "uncontrollable." For myself, I am glad he has his preferences; things might have been far worse if the "conservatives" hadn't tried to keep money tight in boom periods, or if they hadn't tried to fund the debt and to ride out depressions without "over-reacting" to them. But in giving his "conservatives" credit for a limited accomplishment, Mr. Dale hardly indicates that they have been "frustrated."

Indeed, they have gotten pretty much what they have asked for. They have been perfectly willing to conceive of "power" as something to be shared with the Liberals of the pressure groups when it has come to providing for the farmers, the labor leaders, the construction industry, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. They have never really considered the effect of foreign aid on the status of the dollar, which is weak precisely to the extent that we have continued to give money away at a time when the dollar gap is a phenomenon of rather distant memory.

To offer a final commentary on Mr. Dale's title, it should be obvious that we have had a milder sort of Rooseveltian Liberal in office for the past seven years. He has not been actually in "power" if power implies the will to fight; let us say, rather, that the phrase "in office" describes him quite accurately. And, far from the spectacle constituting a study in "frustration," it has offered a study in complacency or timidity or downright indecision about what a government is supposed to do.

Mr. Dale's sense of economics is shaky enough to permit some very strange statements. He seems to think that you can have *more* federally financed slum clearance merely by having fewer cars or less travel (which is crazy the moment you consider that if transactions in cars and travel shrivel, the tax "take" neces-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sary to promote slum clearance must shrivel, too). He says it is "reasonably clear" that "present tax rates" have not been high enough to do "any major damage so far to our growth and progress"—which is nonsense if you look at what has happened to our cotton markets overseas, or if you consider that Texas (which has had its oil depletion allowances) is the one state that has been prolific of new investment capital in recent years. He says that our corporation profits tax system "helps to create conditions under which dividends can be maintained, at least for the first year of a slump"—which is to say that taking money away from companies actually helps them in setting aside funds for stockholders. (O, arithmetic, what crimes . . .!)

The biggest mistake of all in this book is its failure to consider the long-term effect of our tax-and-spend policies in making the U.S. a high-cost country. Mr. Dale virtually ignores Professor Colin Clark's evidence that modern taxes are in themselves a highly inflationary component in prices. Every time the "social budget" goes up, the cost is saddled on industry in one way or another. A third of the retail price of a car, for example, is represented by taxes levied along the line in its manufacture and sale. The loaf of bread contains more taxes than wheat. And where higher and higher taxes are levied on incomes, some way must be found to increase wages and to give executives stock option compensation merely in order to keep people in the mood for being at least reasonably efficient. All of which might not matter if European and Asiatic factories were still out of production, as they were during World War II and for some time thereafter. But now that the rest of the world is becoming productive—and efficiently productive, to boot—it is a question whether the U.S. can keep its high-cost tax structure without facing a real depression.

When and if that time comes, inflation will hardly be the answer. (You can't cure high costs in a competitive world by making them still higher.) Real conservatives will have to take over, the claims of the "modern" budget notwithstanding. And people will once again have to learn to support themselves.

The Fund Misinforms the Republic

J. B. MATTHEWS

Liberals are critical of congressional investigations because they do *not*, allegedly, catch Soviet spies. On the other hand, they are critical of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI because they *do*. By this rule and by many other criteria, the paid professional educators, Robert W. Iversen and David A. Shannon, qualify as Liberals. Normally, Professor Iversen is paid for his professional services by Pennsylvania State University; while, in the carrying out of his educational duties, Professor Shannon is paid by the University of Wisconsin.

Professors Iversen and Shannon interrupted their normal academic activities in order to accept assignments from the Fund for the Republic, the former to write *The Communists and the Schools* (Harcourt Brace, $7.50), and the latter to produce a volume entitled *The Decline of American Communism* (Harcourt Brace, $7.50).

In 1955, the Fund, over which Robert Maynard Hutchins presides, announced its subsidy of an investigation to study "the penetration of Communist influence in American life." Dr. Hutchins declared that the study would be *definitive*. Shortly afterwards, he announced the following challenge in apparent anticipation of critical comments on its investigation: "The professors who direct these studies have complete freedom. . . . If you want to complain of what they do, you have to argue that they are incompetent or that they are crooked." Incompetent is the easier charge.

Ignoring a great deal of hedging on the question of the Communist Party's future, especially on the part of Professor Shannon, it appears that the two books under review conclude that the Party does not have a future. "Their party," he writes, "has become a shambles. The membership has left in droves." He goes on to assert that "by 1959 [the outlook of the Communist Party] had never been darker."

Whatever the degree of impotence Professor Shannon may have intended to ascribe to the Communist Party for the present and the future, his forecast collides head on with that of J. Edgar Hoover. According to Mr. Hoover, the "Communist Party, USA emerged from this the [17th national] convention more powerful, more unified, and even more of a menace to our Republic." One reason for present Communist optimism, Mr. Hoover says, is "*that the recent visit of Premier Khrushchev to the United States has done much to create an atmosphere favorable to Communism among Americans* [emphasis in original]."

In discussing the Communist Party's woeful loss of electoral strength, Professor Shannon cites a number of cases in support of his thesis that these adversities at the polling place are due to fact that the "party has become a shambles." And then he comes upon the case of the California Communist candidate, Bernadette Doyle, who in 1950 polled 605,393 votes for the post of state superintendent of public instruction. Since he has no plausible reason to explain such an enormous vote for a Communist candidate, his thesis breaks down and he proceeds to manufacture an explanation out of sheer fantasy: "the fact that she was a woman and had a distinctly Irish name."

In an extended discussion of the case of the director of the Los Alamos A-Bomb project, Professor Iversen makes it clear that he belongs to the Liberal claque committed to the rehabilitation of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. According to Iversen, Oppenheimer's "defense before the Security [Gray] Board was brilliant." The Gray Board was the agency which heard Dr. Oppenheimer describe his own statements as a "whole fabrication and tissue of lies." The noted physicist's sworn testimony before the Gray Board is replete with errors and distortions. How it can be considered "brilliant," Professor Iversen does not indicate.

In his zeal to make a case for Dr. Oppenheimer, Iversen falls into major errors of fact for which there is no excuse. For example, after naming two of the Communist organizations with which Oppenheimer had been affiliated, the professor says: "But these affiliations ended with Pearl Harbor." The only trouble with this effort to help Dr. Oppenheimer is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that it's false, as Professor Iversen could have ascertained if he had read the 992-page report of the Gray Board more carefully.

One of the Communist organizations with which Oppenheimer was alleged to have broken at the time of Pearl Harbor was the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. Counsel for the Board asked Oppenheimer, "So you were still a member [of the ACDIF] in 1943; were you not?" "Right," Oppenheimer replied. The Board's counsel pursued the matter with the question, "You have no idea how long after that you continued to be a member?" To which the nuclear physicist answered that he "certainly was not very active [in the ACDIF] at Los Alamos."

Dr. Oppenheimer told the Gray Board that he continued to make his regular cash contributions to the

Communist Party months *after* Pearl Harbor, which amounted to at least $500 a month and not more than $1,000.

Furthermore, Oppenheimer became vice chairman of a Communist organization known as the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions almost three years after Pearl Harbor and held that national office in the organization until December 10, 1946.

Professor Shannon states that there was no effective anti-Communism in the United States until the ADA and other leftist groups took up the fight. "The decline of the American Communist Party can be told largely in terms of the conversion of the non-Communist Left into the anti-Communist Left."

Shannon describes the DAR and the American Legion as "superpatriots," by which he and other leftists mean something derogatory. He says: "The typical anti-Communist congressman had close ties with the business community or represented a poll-tax district or both." Thus, the Fund for the Republic runs true to form. "The activity of these conservative anti-Communists," he declares, "despite their intensity and shrillness, was quite ineffective." Professors Iversen and Shannon, who put aside their normal activities in order to serve the American public as paid professional informers on the subject of Communism, show intensity or shrillness only when writing about anti-Communists.

Man and the Scientific Age, I

The Sorcerer's Apprentices

FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN

He who can fuse science and literature into a unity within an age in which scientific advance has outstripped, not only the capacity of any single man, but even the human imagination as such, must be congratulated by men of letters and scientists alike. As a man of letters I should like to congratulate Sir Charles Snow for having effected this peculiar fusion of two professions, but as a philosopher and therefore as a man committed to the Western inheritance, I must deplore the consequences he has drawn from his career as both novelist and scientist.

These consequences are sketched for us in the Rede Lecture given by Sir Charles last year in Cambridge. The author has seen fit to title his observations *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, $1.75). His general thesis can be summarized as follows: the alienation of scientist and man of letters, already markedly noticeable in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, has today broadened into a cleavage of such depth and width that the West can be said to be marked by the coexistence of two cultures that neither speak to nor understand one another. Sir Charles, while admitting the well-known cultural illiteracy of the majority of scientists and technicians within the Western world, leaves no doubt that in his opinion the blame rests largely upon the shoulders of the "men of letters" who have arrogated to themselves the title of "intellectual" and who have consigned to outer darkness the whole tribe of working scientists and technicians.

The intellectual, he maintains, is a "natural Luddite" who never understood the meaning of the first industrial revolution and who ever since has behaved as though that revolution did not exist or as though it ought not to have existed. Concentrating upon the personal situation which is tragic (*i.e.*, we all die and we all die alone), the man of letters has surrendered to the scientist the task of demonstrating that the social situation is *not* tragic, that the wise application of the applied sciences to society both has and ought to produce an optimism markedly absent from literary circles. Sir Charles' remedy: an inner conversion within the man of letters which would force him to reorient his absolutes in the directions suggested by modern science; a massive commitment by Western society to the consequences inherent in the scientific revolution; a selfless dedication by the West to the training of the East in these same scientific techniques.

The critic, while admitting the justice of many of Sir Charles' observations, could well cavil with him on his own grounds. The critic could challenge some of the author's facts: *e.g.*, is it so certain that men *everywhere* readily and happily desert the farm for the factory when given the opportunity to do so? Is it established that the England of the nineteenth century ate better than the England of the seventeenth and sixteenth? Does absolute and complete industrialization create a society of happy and healthy human beings?

But the critic who concentrated upon these doubtful assertions would miss the point of Sir Charles' book. The real issue has nothing to do with whether scientists read Proust or novelists understand Einstein. The real issue is the relation that ought to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exist between science, as we understand that term today, and man himself. This is neither a scientific nor is it a literary problem: it is rather theological and philosophical in scope, and on these two dimensions of the human spirit Sir Charles Snow is alarmingly silent. He says nothing about them at all. And he says nothing about them because he apparently knows nothing about them. He is simply a man not educated in the Western inheritance to which he would presume to dictate.

THE GRAVE ISSUE facing a world half-starved physically for lack of technology and half-dead spiritually because of too much technology must be expressed in moral terms known to the West since Plato, moral terms best summed up in the classical distinction between art and morality, between art and prudence. When this relation is raised today, men all too often tend to think of censors preventing naughty painters from depicting Eve in all her naked glory. These men fiddle while Rome burns. The overwhelming art-morality conflict in our time is the conflict between modern science and human values, a conflict which simply cannot be rationalized by surrendering abjectly to the proposition that the spirit of man *must* be subservient to the dictates of technology in all its forms.

The issue is further complicated in that modern science is less science, in the classical sense of the term, than art: *i.e.*, science today aims less at *understanding* than at *mastering* reality. Science has thus taken on the characteristics of art, characteristics which are engraved within the very structure of mathematics—a discipline that *fashions* and therefore makes, in some sense, its own object. In classical terms, the *good of the work of art* is the good of the thing made, be it a sword or be it an automobile: the good artist is the man who makes and who makes well. The *good of man*, however, is not the good of a thing made but is the good of the man acting as a human being. For these reasons the good of art must be subordinated to the good of man. I can ruin my health for the sake of my novel, but I have no right to do so if my family needs my good health in order that it may eat.

These considerations are elemental and it is almost painful to have to set them before an audience that has mastered the fundamentals of Western morals. But the literate audience of our day is simply not schooled, and Sir Charles Snow occupies a privileged place among those who failed to do their homework in the Western tradition. The scientific revolution, itself capable of altering the very fabric of human personality, must be disciplined according to the moral and intellectual and even psychic demands of the human substance. Where science cannot be disciplined and made to fit the human cloth, it must be suppressed. Mere scientific possibility is no ethical imperative demanding actualization.

We have now reached a point in history where we are the masters of powers whose scope is as yet undreamed of by the imagination of men. We are the sorcerer's apprentices badly in need of the sorcerer. What is needed is a heroism that will give machines to men who need them and deny machines to men who have too many already. If the asceticism demanded is too much for the human spirit, if the human spirit can no longer say No, then the West will have died. But we can always remember the words of the Apostle John enjoining us to harden ourselves in hope. It is this absence of hope in what the West really means that makes *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, though witty and urbane, so terribly sad.

Man and the Scientific Age, II

Restless Quest for Knowledge

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

IN *The Phenomenon of Man* (Harper, $5.00), Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Jesuit priest and world-renowned paleontologist, grapples boldly and brilliantly with the most baffling mysteries that still confront man in his restless quest for knowledge. Why, exactly, did life on earth begin? How—and also why—did reflective thought first appear? What (if anything) is the significance of *homo sapiens* in terms of the still-continuing evolutionary process? And what role does that process play in relation to God and the spiritual life of mankind?

"But vain," sighed Melville, "to popularize profundities, and all truth is profound." These are large questions, and no book that deals with them effectively is ever likely to be an "easy" book. Inevitably, this one (superbly translated from the French by Bernard Wall) bristles with words and concepts that are rare or downright unique: orthogenesis, interiority, noösphere. A modest familiarity with geology and paleontology is of great help to the reader: an ungrudging acceptance of the basic theory of biological evolution is almost indispensable.

But if Father Teilhard sets for himself (and his readers) a task of formidable magnitude, few men have ever brought to that task a more imposing array of talents. As—successively—professor of geology at the Catholic Institute in Paris, director of the National Geological Survey of China, and director of the National Research Center of France, Teilhard commanded the scientific backround necessary to visualize the vast sweep of geologic history over which this volume roams. As an ordained member of the Society of Jesus, he possessed the rigorous philosophical training and acutely disciplined mind that perhaps alone could have perceived in that majestic epic a significance of a higher order—a "Law lying under the years." But even this rare combination of attributes might not have sufficed, if he had not also been an author of truly poetic powers. The scientist in him observed the world and its history; the philosopher interpreted those observations; but it is a born writer who speaks to us in these pages—an artist with words, painting, like Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, a picture of the Creation and Last Judgment of the world.

Father Teilhard discerns—in the seemingly senseless play of "blind" natural forces, in the headlong surge

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of biological evolution, in the advent and social organization of mankind —a single world-compelling tendency, moving irreversibly and irresistibly toward a single transcendent goal. He invites us to visualize the primitive earth, cooling and congealing from the cosmic background, as subject to a fundamental evolutionary "Law of complexity and consciousness." In the warm early seas, huge molecular combinations slowly accrete, until at last, in a single great pulsation that exhausts the primordial chemism, living cells are formed. A biosphere envelops the geosphere: plants and animals appear and multiply, always evolving toward more complex, more highly conscious forms. At last, in another giant stride, psychogenesis succeeds biogenesis on the curve of planetary evolution:

> We already knew that everywhere the active phyletic lines grow warm with consciousness toward the summit. But in one well-marked region at the heart of the mammals, where the most powerful brains ever made by nature are to be found, they become red hot. And right at the heart of that glow burns a point of incandescence.
>
> We must not lose sight of that line crimsoned by the dawn. After thousands of years rising below the horizon, a flame bursts forth at a strictly localized point.
>
> Thought is born.

Thus far, the exegesis is faintly reminiscent of Lecomte du Noüy's *Human Destiny* (written several years after *The Phenomenon of Man*, though published much earlier). But it is just here that Teilhard's analytical imagination takes its most daring leap. The biosphere is next pictured as being slowly enveloped, in its turn, by a *noösphere*—a layer of thought—which then proceeds to "complexify," in faithful obedience to the basic evolutionary law, through the social organization and intercommunication of the human species. Evolution, in short, has "overflowed its anatomical modalities to spread, or perhaps even at heart to transplant itself, into the zones of psychic spontaneity both individual and collective." And this process will continue, he envisions, until it completes itself and fulfills the evolutionary destiny of the earth by the convergence and union of the elements of the noösphere in Omega, the transcendent Prime Mover of the universe.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, concepts like these could hardly be expected to find favor with strictly materialistic scientists—as witness the recent anguished outcry of Columbia's George Gaylord Simpson. Equally inevitable was the coolness of many theologians, who preferred more familiar descriptions of God and His mysterious ways. Teilhard was forbidden by his order to teach in France, and permission to publish this volume was denied during his lifetime. But his death in 1955 ended the ban, and it is important to add that he has today warm advocates as well as critics among both clergy and laity of the Catholic faith.

Certainly religious reservations need not deter any mature Christian who is tempted to read this book. No doubt Teilhard's concept of the role of evil in the world—to cite just one illustration—is in some respects inadequate. But the significance of *The Phenomenon of Man* lies, not in its lapses from perfection, but in the powerful weapons of interpretation and analysis with which it parts the curtains of Past and Future and marshals in orderly ranks the seemingly random forces of nature.

And when all is said and done, Teilhard's message (sketched here only crudely) is a profoundly Christian one. Whether we peer with him backward and downward into the dim geologic past, or outward into the boundless cosmos, or forward into the mist-shrouded future, he reveals to us glimpses of the same matchless Vision. Indeed, he could not do otherwise; for it scarcely honors God to suppose that knowledge is His enemy, or can ever be. The science of Teilhard de Chardin, like all true science, explicates the cosmic Creation, and thereby further glorifies the Creator.

Any book reviewed in this Book Section (or any other current book) supplied by return mail. You pay only the bookstore price. We pay the postage anywhere in the world. Catalogue on request.

THE BOOKMAILER

Box 101, New York 16, N.Y.

The Complete Bookstore-by-Mail Service representing all U.S. publishers

The Passing Scene

The Kennedys

FRANCIS RUSSELL

SOME TIME before the Civil War Mayor Lyman of Boston referred to the Irish newcomers then beginning to swarm into the alleys of the prim brick Puritan town as "a race that will never be infused into our own, but on the contrary will always remain distinct and hostile." To native Bostonians these beaten survivors of the Great Hunger seemed scarcely more than beasts, drunken and pugnacious, too illiterate even to read the "Protestants Only" factory signs. So long as they confined themselves to the most menial of tasks they would be endured and exploited—at a distance.

It was just about half-way between the Famine and the present that the next generation of Irish took control of Boston when John F. Fitzgerald, grandfather of Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy, became mayor. There had been Irish mayors before him, Hugh O'Brien and Patrick Collins, men who within their limited field were in the great tradition of Grattan and Burke. Such men are usually named spokesmen by the emergent racial groups of the large cities. Then when it is seen how easily the citadels capitulate, the more venal men, the Honey Fitzgeralds and the Jim Curleys, replace the O'Briens and Collinses. John F. Fitzgerald—called "Honey" for his rendering of *Sweet Adeline*—used to refer to himself with raw humor as "the last honest mayor of Boston." In his administration (it was later discovered) the city had been in the habit of paying for each side of a paving block. According to the quixotically honest City Clerk Wilfred Doyle, in Honey's day everybody in City Hall from department head to scrubwoman had to kick back.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Honey Fitz, the host of the old Woodcock Hotel, was brazen. Elderly politicians in the city can still today repeat limericks about his blonde friend "Toodles" Ryan.

With Honey's grandson the wheel seems to have come full cycle. For what this amiable, self-assured young man represents in his person and his family is the consolidation of a new class. After the Revolution the provincial squirearchy of Massachusetts, the Brattles and the Vassals and the Hutchinsons, was succeeded by the

SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY: "What this amiable, self-assured young man represents in his person and his family is the consolidation of a new class."

money-grubbing mercantilism of the Lowells and the Cabots and the Lawrences. These latter families flourished briefly in one generation in the so-called golden age and took two more to fade. Now once again the pattern is repeated. Honey Fitz could always move a South Boston audience to derisive cheers with a scornful reference to Harvard, "that place across the river." His grandson would be elected an overseer of Harvard, indistinguishable in look and manner from his Yankee predecessors. So close can the identification grow that six years ago Senator Kennedy refused to endorse the candidacy of the present Governor Furcolo against his Republican colleague and fellow Harvard alumnus Senator Saltonstall.

Senator Kennedy is not particularly popular among the Massachusetts Democratic politicians who have bludgeoned their way up the shaky political ladder only to watch a nonprofessional parachute down on them. But among the voters of the Commonwealth the senator's popularity is unequalled. The Kennedy name is magic in Massachusetts, so much so that unknown and unrelated Kennedys have taken to reflecting themselves into office by it. Why this appeal? The question remains, whether one thinks of the Massachusetts senator as a pleasant young man of not much substance or a potential Thomas Jefferson. Basically the reason for this popularity is that he has come to represent the respectability and status that the Irish-Americans by and large have only recently achieved. Honey Fitz and Jim Curley (dead only two years) appealed to a chip-on-the-shoulder proletariat. Jack Kennedy appeals to prosperous middle-class Americans of Irish descent who see in him the success image of themselves.

So the Kennedys, staked by father Joe's millions and spearheaded by Senator Jack, have become a sociological symbol, a phenomenon that in many ways transcends politics. Unfortunately Joseph F. Dinneen's new book about them, *The Kennedy Family* (Little, Brown, $3.95), is more of a hasty election year effort, a somewhat padded success story, than a study of any lasting consequence. This is a pity, because Mr. Dinneen probably knows as much about the Boston Irish as any man alive—as he so ably demonstrated in his novel *Ward Eight*.

The story begins with Patrick Joseph Kennedy, born in Boston of immigrant parents in 1858, who started out in life as a longshoreman and ended up as ward boss of East Boston. As bosses go he seems to have been an honest one. His son Joseph, the ex-ambassador, took the then unusual step for one of his background of going to Harvard. After Harvard and the presidency of a local bank he went on via the stock market to become one of America's richest men. As a young man he married Honey Fitz's daughter—hence that connection. Mr. Dinneen sketches in the details of three generations impressionistically with fluorescent paint and without shadows. Though the best he can do for Honey is to disguise him as "a political clown, a buffoon song and dance man," the rest is praise.

Yet there are cross-currents in this rampant success story, and Mr. Dinneen gives occasional hints that he is aware of them. The enigma of Joseph Sr. is not as easily explained as he would have it. But in any case one must wait to see if the Kennedys are to be a dynastic family, or whether they will be overtaken by the disintegrative process that thrust the old Yankees aside and that now seems to be at work on the Boston Celts.

Advertisement

"MAKE ALL THINGS NEW"

A thrilling and wonderful book, which is bringing to the people, who read it, a real blessing and an understanding of what has led the human race to its present sorry plight. It points out clearly what is going to happen in the near future: The book also shows what is going to happen to you and your nation.

"MAKE ALL THINGS NEW"

Reveals to you what not to eat to avoid the modern new-fangled diseases plaguing people, diseases brought on by the chemicalized and denatured food and drink being consumed. Send $2.00 for your prepaid copy of "MAKE ALL THINGS NEW," P.O. Box 1697, El Centro, Calif.

HOW TO WIN THE NEXT ELECTION

$3 ☐

A 48-page pamphlet (8½ x 11) just off press entitled

The Inarticulate Republicans vs. The Vote-Buying Democrats

The U.S.A. is in a political mess. Past economic crimes are coming home to roost. Even our "liberals" are awakening to the fact that the Welfare State is becoming an ill-fare state.

The next election will be largely fought on this subject. This book discusses the numerous Popular Economic and Monetary Fallacies—of both the left and the right—which have led to the general confusion which now prevails.

Outline of Contents

Capitalism vs. Liberalism (Socialism)
Must Democracy Mean Inflation
Vote-buying & Vote-selling
Are All Socialists Thieves
Who, or What, Fixes Prices
The Interest-rate Battle
Slumps . . & Their Cures

*

Why Full Employment and Stable Money are Incompatible.
Other Mutually-Incompatible Policies
Unfit to Govern
What Initially Attractive Liberalism will cost you Eventually.
How to Win Next Election
Suggested Platform & Planks

Money back if not satisfied

We will send this book free to those who subscribe to our monthly Digest Service from this advt. 1 yr. $25 ☐

Major Angas, Inc., Saxtons River, Vt.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

GOD AND AMERICA

Believing in both, you are concerned about political pressures to compromise with Communism at the expense of moral principles.

Ours is an organization of Conservatives dedicated to fighting Red lies with monthly truth campaigns. Members throughout the country unite to attack one Communist error at a time through promulgation of the facts. There are *no meetings and all contributions* are optional.

You can receive our free introductory leaflet and an invitation to join **THE PATRICK HENRY LEAGUE** by sending a stamped, addressed envelope to

Box 383
Main Post Office
Yonkers, New York

another national review!

If you want a vigorous Independent Tory approach to British politics with plenty of hard argument and excellent literary and other cultural features as well—buy the illustrated monthly

NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

edited by Lord Altrincham
This magazine is readable
It is original
It has influence
$5.00 for a year's subscription
Individual copies 50 cents
(including postage and packing)

Subscription form

To: National and English Review
2 Breams Buildings
London E. C. 4 England

I enclose remittance of $5.00 to cover a year's subscription

Name .....

Address .....

.....

To the Editor

Kerala's Communists

Did the Communists really take a "drubbing"—as NATIONAL REVIEW asserts [February 13]—in the recent Kerala elections in India?

True, the Reds failed to obtain a majority, winning only 28 out of 126 seats in the state assembly. But the plain truth is that the Reds (and their two "front" parties) actually polled 700,000 more votes than they did in 1957 when—because of lack of unity among the opposition parties—they were able to form a government.

And, significantly, the Reds increased their vote despite—or maybe because of—the Chinese Communists' aggressions across the Indian border. This leads me to believe, on the basis of a recent trip to India, that it is just possible that many Indians (particularly in the South), disenchanted by Nehru's promises, may actually be awaiting "liberation" by Red China.

Otherwise, how explain the vote increase?

New York City VICTOR LASKY

British Student Replies

As an exchange student from England, I was very interested to read Colm Brogan's article "This Happy Breed." [January 16].

Though patriotic feelings, aroused by my stay in this country of enthused patriots, set up a reflex resentment of any criticism of the Welfare State, I must admit that I agree with the picture drawn by your author of this small but significant section of British youth. Seeing here the effect of not having a Welfare State developed to such an extent, I am inclined to be thankful for it as the lesser of two evils.

My first observation is that large numbers of the members of the class who would presumably be in the condition described by the author in Britain are, in this country, engaged in active juvenile delinquency. As for their being the product of an "unsatisfactory educational system," this system—endowed as it is with a much smaller amount of money—does at least produce some students who are adequately prepared for a college education and not, as in this country in the words of Jacques Barzun, "narcotized by the extraordinary dullness of the eleventh and twelfth grades."

It does not produce the almost all-containing stratum of mediocrity which, though not sinking to the depths described by your author, could hardly be said to rise to an unimpeachable level above that. This really is a first-class example of the pot calling the kettle black!

As for the deprecating remarks on college students, I can only say that I have not met this spirit amongst my colleagues and I would suggest that there will always be some members of every level of a community who will, on being given something free, expect to get more—or will at least make some attempt to get it! You are right, though, in thinking that the Welfare State fosters this.

So. Dartmouth, Mass. PAUL A. BRISTOW

Was the Cardinal Conservative?

. . . I never would believe that such a writer would distort history in order to "insure" his "victory." However, I find that Mr. Garry Wills has done just this in claiming John Henry Newman for the conservative camp [January 16]. I am not concerned whether Newman would enlist on the side of the conservatives or the Liberals; that is irrelevant. I am concerned, however, that Mr. Wills has, either through ignorance or deliberate planning, made false claims. I should like to know how he can claim Newman as a conservative in view of the rather elemental evidence that follows:

. . . Five years after Pius IX issued the *Syllabus,* he convened the Vatican Council, with the purpose, his conservative supporters asserted, of enforcing upon the whole Church a spirit of hostility toward the secular world. Not only would the council establish as infallible those beliefs most under debate at that time, but by declaring the Pope infallible, it would obviate the need for further councils, and make possible the flow of authoritative pronouncements that men like Ward and Veuillot, the outstanding contemporary Catholic con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

servatives, so ardently desired. Both prospects distressed the Liberals, who did not believe that conditions were so dangerous as to warrant the heroic ministrations of a council, and who feared that, by premature definition, the Church might block the discussions and tentative compromises which were necessary preliminaries to a wise rapprochement between Church and culture. John Henry Newman was one of the most active men in rallying lay and clerical support against the calling of a council. I'm sure that Mr. Wills could hardly term Newman's action conservative.

When there was a great amount of Church opposition to the Knights of Labor, Cardinal Newman supported an attempt by Cardinals Gibbons and Ireland to block a conservative condemnation of the Knights and Henry George. Once again, an action that can hardly be termed "conservative."

Newman, himself, said that he regarded his life work to be the same as that of Isaac Hecker, the founder of the Paulist Fathers and one of America's outstanding Liberals of the period: that is, to stress the integrity of the individual conscience. This view was directly opposed to the conservative opinion of the day, which stressed passive obedience to the "will of the Church."

Another incident on which the conservative members of the Church and Newman disagreed was on the role of education. The conservatives argued that education should be religious, preparing man only for the next world. Newman believed and preached that a university was not a seminary: ". . . it should train its members to become active in society. Its art is the art of social life, its end is fitness for this world as well as the next."

For purposes of making this letter as brief as possible, I shall not go into the history of the debate over "Biblical literalism"; suffice it to say that the conservatives believed that every word of the Bible must be accepted as literally true, whether or not science claimed to refute it. Newman once again opposed the conservatives by maintaining that all scientific and historical comment in the Bible, except that bearing directly on dogmatic truth, could be regarded as "obiter dicta," and thus subject to subsequent correction. Once again, Mr. Wills? . . .

San Francisco, Cal. TED SCHELEY

Teachers! Students!

For the Classroom . . .

NATIONAL REVIEW will provide 10 or more copies of any issue, for classroom use, at only 15¢ per copy, postage included (plus an extra copy free for the instructor). You can also make arrangements for such bulk shipments for an entire semester. Address:

NATIONAL REVIEW, Dept. B
150 East 35 St.
New York 16, N. Y.

CHANGING YOUR ADDRESS?

Please give us three weeks' notice, so that you will not miss an issue (and **please** be sure to include zone numbers!). Notify:

Circulation Dept.
National Review
150 East 35th St.
New York 16, N. Y.

GF

GENERAL FOODS DECLARES ITS 153rd COMMON DIVIDEND

A dividend of 65 cents a share on the common stock will be paid on March 4, 1960 to stockholders of record at the close of business, February 15, 1960.

Leonard F. Genz, *Secretary*

GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION
250 North Street, White Plains, N.Y.

•

GF's family of quality products includes new Minute Sliced Potatoes

Looking for a PUBLISHER?

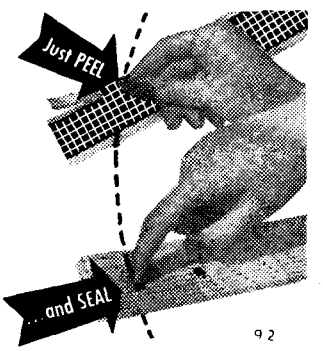
Your book can be published, promoted, distributed by successful, reliable company noted for prompt, personal service. All subjects. Free Editorial Report. Inquiries also invited from businesses, organizations, churches, etc. Send for Free Booklet. Vantage Press, Dept. NR, 120 W. 31, New York 1.

CORRECT KEY-PUNCH ERRORS

with BRADY self-sticking

CORRECTION SEALS

Made of super-thin Mylar® . . . feeds freely, won't jam equipment. Highly visible opaque red color easy to spot. Fast to apply. Low in cost. Order red and transparent seals from stock; silver on special order. Send for free sample.



92

W. H. BRADY CO. • 775 W. GLENDALE AVE. • MILWAUKEE 9, WIS.

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure-Sensitive Tape Products • Est. 1914
SALES OFFICES: Atlanta • Boston • Buffalo • Chicago • Cincinnati • Cleveland Detroit • Hartford • Los Angeles • Milwaukee • New York • Newark • Philadelphia St. Louis • San Francisco • Brampton, Ontario, Canada

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED

NATIONAL REVIEW ACCEPTS *classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature.* NATIONAL REVIEW *reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. Rates per insertion; 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words; 35¢ per word for 5 or more insertions in 3 months. If a box number is desired, count two extra words. Text, accompanied by full payment in the form of cash, check or money order, must be received 17 days before publication date. All responses to box numbers will be forwarded and postage billed periodically. Mail to be called for at* NATIONAL REVIEW *will be held 60 days only. Address: Classified Dept.,* NATIONAL REVIEW, *150 East 35th Street, New York 16, N. Y.*

JOBS & JOB HUNTERS

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer free travel, high salaries. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" describes all possibilities in sixty countries. $1.00 Hill International Publications, P. O. Box 26-R, Massapequa Park, New York.

YOUNG MAN, 29, extremely capable many fields, interested evening, Saturday work, N.Y.C. area. Box 2, c/o National Review.

MAJOR CORPORATION public affairs director seeking public affairs, public relations position. Young, ambitious, conservative. Highest references. Box 40, c/o National Review.

TRAVEL

WAYSIDE INN, ELLENVILLE, N.Y. Open all year. Two hours NYC. Modern rooms. 10 miles Davos ski area. For restful relaxation. Situated amidst natural beauty of the Catskills. American plan $9.00 a day per person. European plan single room $4.00 a day and up. Double room $7.50 and up. Telephone Ellenville, N.Y. 888.

WAMPLER WILDERNESS TRAIL TRIPS—hiking or riding. Yearly calendar of activities, during optimum seasons in Sierra Nevada, Havasu Canyon, Chiricahua Mts., Carmel back country and Mexico, for men, women and groups. Many including beginners, come alone—make lasting new friends. Please write: Box 45, Berkeley 1, California.

EUROPE BOUND? Enjoy your trip. Take an Italian ship. T. V. Irpinia — T. V. Ascania. GRIMALDI SIOSA LINES, 44 Whitehall St., New York 4, N.Y. BOwling Green 9-0962.

PELICAN COVE — Unspoiled Florida Keys. Immaculate oceanside apartments, rooms. Beach, fishing, shelling, birdwatching, sailing, loafing. Literate congenial company on balmy tropical isle. Carolyn and Tom Brown, Islamorada 3.

REAL ESTATE

FOR SALE, Cape Cod cottage on Cape Cod. Built 1820. Five rooms, bath, electric kitchen, with two bedrooms and storage above. New oil-fired hot water heat. On two acres in zoned area. To settle estate, $18,000. Box 227, c/o National Review.

REAL ESTATE, VIRGINIA. "Kinrossie" 139 acres, white brick gem (circa 1820) between Farmington Hunt and Blue Rige Mountains. House, cottages, stable, barn, etc. insured $122,250. Tax $591. Price $110,000. University 25-minute drive. Write for brochure. Stevens & Co., Realtors', 1939 Ivy Road, Charlottesville, Virginia.

WRITER'S CHARMING, distinctive home in beautiful community 75 miles from NYC. 3 double bedrooms, 2 baths, 2 fireplaces, woodland study, 2½ acres, all conveniences. Secluded, yet walking distance from stores, station. $26,000 net. Box 242, Brookfield, Connecticut. Phone SPring 5-9453, Danbury.

LITERARY

LOCATE ANY BOOK. No obligation. Aardvarks Book-Explorers, Santee, California.

FOR A COPY OF MULTIGRAPH PUBLICATION on politics, send 15¢ to PROSPECTIVE, 5203 West Grace, Richmond, Virginia.

"PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR ALL" by O.B. Johannsen. Provocative essay on purpose of education. Why it should be conducted as private enterprise. 25¢ each. Write: Committee of One, 825 Walnut Street, Roselle Park, N.J.

THOUGHTFORMING MANUAL, mimeo, $2—Sensitron System, Box 1126, St. Augustine, Fla.

PUBLISHING a book or booklet? Our free folder explains a low cost program. THE WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 391 East 149th Street, New York 55, N.Y.

MISCELLANEOUS

SCIENTIFIC INTRODUCTIONS by correspondence, using famous Wallace matchmaking system—personality analysis and electronic selector. Details free in plain envelope. Dr. Karl Wallace Foundation, 54042—H Terminal Annex, Los Angeles 54, California.

JAPAN DIRECTORY—145 Japanese manufacturing exporters, Japan and Hong Kong trade journal information. Asia opportunities, $1.00 today. Nippon—Annai, Box 6266, Spokane 28, Washington.

NEW-SPACE ALPHABET. Exciting, exclusive, decorative print 11 x 14 white on black. $1.00 postpaid. Shepard, P.O. Box 988, Palm Springs, California.

DO YOU INVEST? For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Co-manager, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st St., New York City. Members New York Stock Exchange.

OBSERVE "SOCIALISM" at close range. Watch bees, the social insects, through our miniature glass-sided hive right in your own living room or den. Literature on request. Herman Kalb, Bee Hobbyist, Box 183, Edmond, Okla.

MISS America Slides of 1960. 8 colorful slides—$2.00, or 20 slides—$5.00. Miss America Slides, Box 117, Atlantic City, N.J.

FREEDOM SCHOOL now accepting applications for enrollment in 1960 summer courses, each of two weeks duration. Instructors include: Dr. Ruth Alexander, Frank Chodorov, Dr. V. Orval Watts, Bryson Reinhardt, Percy Greaves, Jr., Dr. Salvatore Saladino, Elwood P. Smith, Dr. James L. Doenges, R. W. Holmes, George Resch, and others. Write Box 165, Colorado Springs, Colo., for free descriptive folder and application blank. Contributions to Freedom School are now exempt from federal income taxes.

TRAVEL, ANYONE?

. . . why not arrange your trip the way other National Review readers (*and* editors) do—let Margaret Cone make *all* your reservations—ship, plane, hotel—anything! For world-wide service *and* satisfaction, contact

MARGARET CONE TRAVEL SERVICE
Dept. R-1, 520 Fifth Ave.
New York 36, N.Y.
Tel. OXford 7-0796

The Mayor Comments

I very much appreciate your taking the time to comment on the Khrushchev incident and also your moral support at that time. . . . Never once have I regretted my action, and as time goes on you and I are being vindicated in our position.

It was my intention to make a strong but polite statement of the principles by which we Americans live. It is encouraging now to see the additional good purposes which this has served, in that Mr. Khrushchev obviously understands that we have real freedom in this country and that a public official, no matter how high or low, is accountable only to his conscience and his immediate constituency. NORRIS POULSON, Mayor

Los Angeles, Cal.

Mr. Burnham's Column

I should like to express my profoundest thanks to James Burnham for a column on strategy which has no equal that I know of anywhere in the world, and I read widely. It is learned but never pompous, calm but spirited, penetrating yet never improvised, constant but not doctrinaire.

It is a great pillar, and to the extent it goes unread by those who have our destiny in their hands, the West is not using one of its greatest strengths. I should feel safer if the members of the National Security Council read that column than I would if our bombers were on 24-hour air-borne duty. Though to be sure, if they did the former, the latter would quickly follow.

New York City FRANK O. STREETER

De Gaulle

American conservatives are no doubt justified in their apprehension and annoyance at the current apparent drift of de Gaulle to the left, both domestically and internationally. We should bear in mind, however, that the leaders of lesser powers in the Western Alliance are not entirely their own masters, and must struggle to safeguard their countries' interests against not only existing but possible future lunacies emanating from Washington.

De Gaulle's Algerian policy may strike conservatives as risky—but would de Gaulle have adopted it if he had not been confronted with insupportable pressures generated by Washington ideologues who are doing their best to turn all Africa into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a collection of Cubas? We may deplore his invitation to Khrushchev—but who started this game of chummy conferences with Khrushchev? And what assurance has de Gaulle, or any other Western leader, that if he adopts a hard line with respect to the Soviet Union he will not have the rug pulled out from under him by Eisenhower or his successor as a concession to those American Liberals who have always hated de Gaulle's guts and still do?

In other words, as long as the current distribution of world power prevails, resistance must begin in Washington; it cannot be expected from Paris, or Bonn, or Rome, or London, so long as they have good reason to fear that their left flank may be turned at any moment by a vapid United States. Let's stop deploring de Gaulle and concentrate our criticism on the man whose weakness is paralyzing de Gaulle and the entire West: Dwight D. Eisenhower.

New York City R. A. W.

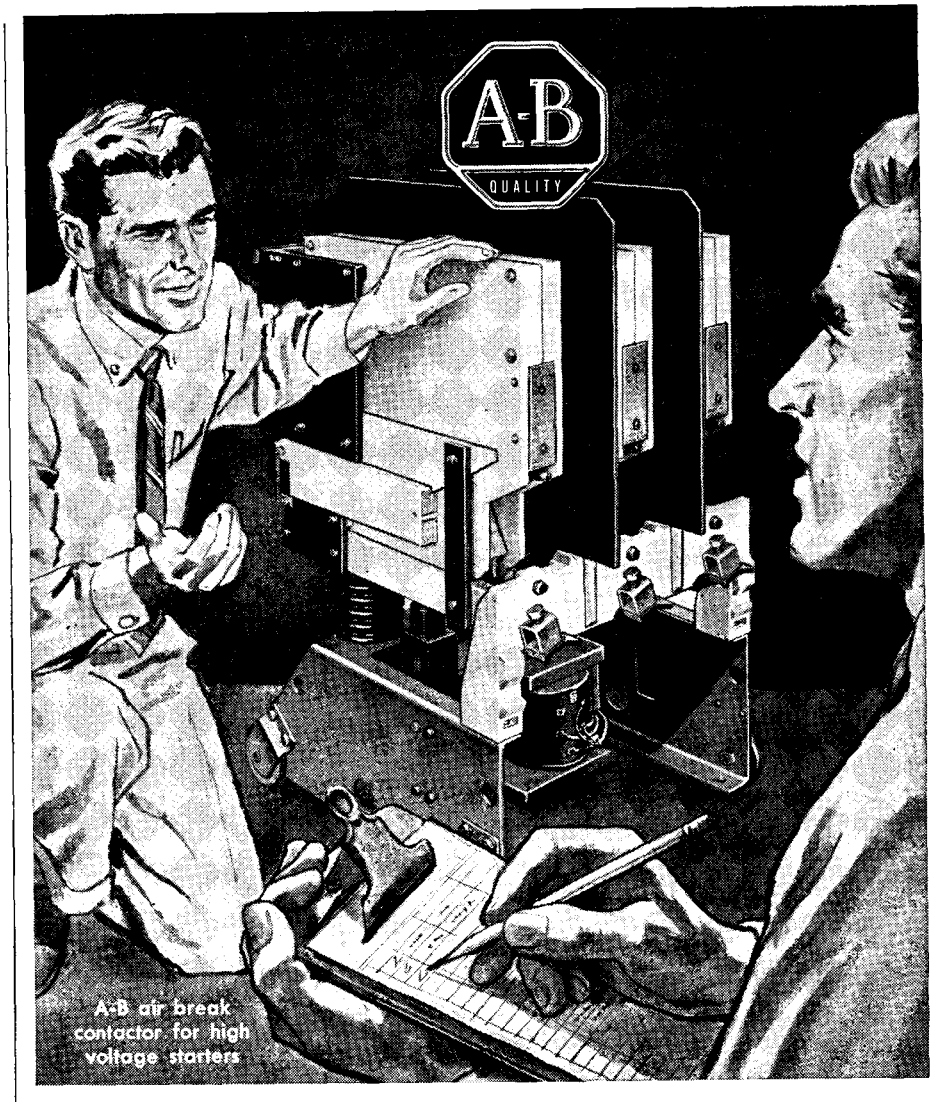
In a Four-Masted Barque

I am grateful that my career as a writer has been seasoned with the salt of controversy and I look back with satisfaction upon a decade of sword play in which I have been privileged to meet upon the field of battle opponents whose intellectual competence was matched only by their consummate courtesy in combat. . . . I have also found myself damned in print as a Jeremiah, a Prophet of Doom, a Cassandra, and even a Cassius, but I had to wait until reading the January 16th issue of NATIONAL REVIEW to find myself branded a liar.

I refer to a letter written by one L. T. Anderson criticizing my vignette upon wine inspired by Mr. Alec Waugh's *In Praise of Wine*. Referring to my remarks concerning the Peruvian national drink, Pisco sour, and the manner in which I came to know that beverage, Mr. Anderson writes: "I don't believe anyone except S. J. Perelman learned to like Pisco sour in a four-masted barque off the coast of Peru. . . ." . . . Yes, Mr. Anderson, I *did* come to know Pisco sour in a four-masted barque off the coast of Peru and if you would care for a full account of the experience you might read . . . my *Omega: Last of the Barques*, published by Newman Press, 1956.

FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN

Santa Clara, Cal.



Why is Allen-Bradley Motor Control so often first choice?*

The experts in the field—the consulting engineers—the chief engineers—the plant superintendents—all have learned from long experience that Allen-Bradley motor control insures reliable, maintenance free performance. For example, A-B high voltage, air break starters have operated over 400,000 times in actual service—with absolutely no maintenance!

A-B high voltage contactors, as illustrated above, deliver such outstanding performance because they have only ONE moving part. This simple construction is your assurance of a really remarkable operating life. Also, the double break, silver alloy contacts never require service attention.

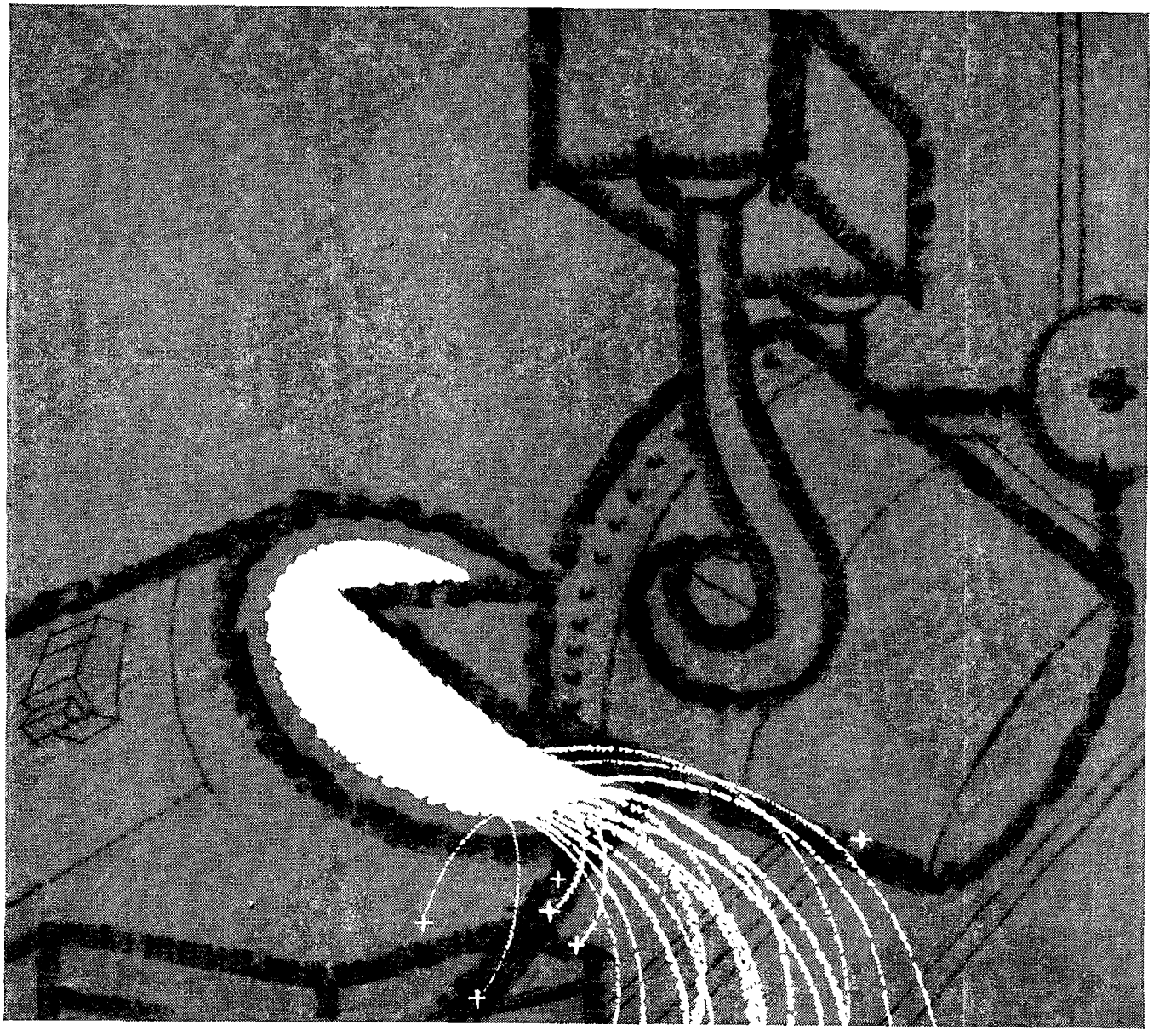
Always insist on Allen-Bradley quality motor control—the first choice of experienced men who work with motor control every day. They know!

**According to nationwide surveys.*

Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 S. Third St., Milwaukee 4, Wis. • In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ont.

ALLEN-BRADLEY
Quality Motor Control

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



WHAT'S NEW
at the new J&L

What's new? Our plants. Our products. Our plans. Watch us in the sixties.

We're producing the best steel we know how to produce. And we're going at full capacity to make sure that the steel products you use will be there when you need them.

Our rated ingot capacity for 1960 has increased to 8,125,000 tons—almost double our capacity just 20 years ago. We expect to operate at an average of 87 per cent of this higher capacity in 1960.

Many of our new facilities just got into operation last year before the shutdown. And construction is under way right now on important new facilities. At Pittsburgh, one battery of coke ovens is being built and two more are planned. At Aliquippa, a sinter plant, an electrolytic tinning line, and a continuous annealing line for tin plate will be completed this year. At Cleveland, the world's two largest basic oxygen steel-making furnaces are being built.

Nineteen-sixty is expected to be the best year in the history of the steel industry. J&L, the nation's fourth largest producer, will play an important part in making this happen.

Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation J&L STEEL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED